

# THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE  
PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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SATURDAY, JANUARY 15, 1977

25¢



Sees "Potential For Renaissance City"

## LIONEL WILSON ANNOUNCES CANDIDACY FOR FIRST BLACK MAYOR OF OAKLAND



The mayoral candidacy of respected Judge LIONEL WILSON, backed by campaign manager SANDRE SWANSON (left) and campaign co-chairman RENE DAVIDSON, was supported by over 750 Oaklanders at an enthusiastic campaign kick-off celebration held last Thursday evening.

(Oakland, Calif.) - Close to 750 people turned out at the Lake Merritt boathouse last Thursday evening to enthusiastically kick off the popular campaign of Lionel Wilson, a much-respected Superior Court judge, to become the first Black mayor of the city of Oakland.

Earlier in the day, at a well-attended press conference, Judge Wilson, 60, formally announced his candidacy in the mayoral race, emphasizing that Oakland has "the economic, human and environmental potential to develop into a Renaissance city."

He listed "double-digit unemployment," "crimes of violence and crimes of theft that are becoming commonplace in every neighborhood," and an eroding tax base as the major issues his campaign would address.

Wilson, who became Alameda County's first Black judge in 1960 (appointed by then Governor Edmund Brown, Sr.) and has taken a leave of absence from his present position as presiding judge of Superior Court, promised "a new attitude and atmosphere, along with leadership that will listen and respond to the concerns of all segments of our city — minority groups, women, working class citizens, industry and business, youth and senior citizens."

"I believe that working together we can create a true renaissance in Oakland, thus making it a better place for all of us to live."

Admitting that some of friends have questioned why he would give up a \$49,000-a-year

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## Editorial

# THE BLOOD WILL BE REAL

"We interrupt this program to bring you live from San Quentin Prison the execution of ----"

Such an announcement may become typical on our television screens if the ruling handed down last week in U.S. District Court in Texas — that executions may be filmed and later shown on TV — becomes a precedent for the nation. (See article, page 9.)

Governor Jerry Brown is one of few governors or other public officials who have gone on record in opposition to the death penalty. The Texas court decision, and the suit that brought about the decision, is one more indication of how frightfully high pro-death penalty sentiment runs within the ruling class and among other reactionary Whites. In Texas itself, an arch-conservative state, a survey found that 70 per cent of the population favors capital punishment.

For the Black and poor oppressed community, capital punishment is an instrument of blatant genocide: nearly 60 per cent of all inmates on death row in the U.S. are Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American or some other minority group.

After declaring in 1973 that the death penalty is "cruel and unusual punishment" and therefore a violation of the Constitution, the U.S. Supreme Court reversed itself last July and decided that the death penalty is legal in murder cases. Since then, the high court has made a number of hazy rulings on the issue, finding that death penalty statutes are legal in some states but illegal in others.

America is a society that condones killing as a way to deal with problems, according to contemporary psychiatric theory. One psychiatrist quoted in the *New York Times* said that the majority of the American people want to see Utah death row inmate Gary Gilmore die. "...The great bulk of the public don't really have any interest in deterring murder," the psychiatrist maintains. "They're crying for blood."

And now the death penalty fanatics want this blood to be spilled on TV, in our very homes, to have executions added to the violent, bloodthirsty fare that already dominates the television screen. Only this time, the blood that will be spilled will be real—the horror of watching a helpless human being gassed to death or electrocuted will be no fantasy. □



"Thanks for everything."

## Letters to the Editor

### POOR BLACK MAN FRAMED

Dear Sir:

I have read your paper. I'm a poor Black man. My name is Tommy Stone and I need some legal help. I am in the state prison at Reidsville, Georgia. I am an innocent man. I was railroaded in Milledgeville, Georgia. They have me charged with kidnapping and rape. The girl told the people I didn't have anything to do with it. But they still found me guilty, on what, I don't know. They didn't have any evidence on me, but they gave me two 20 year sentences.

I had a state lawyer, but he didn't do anything for me. He was inefficient and ineffective counsel. His name is Milton F. Gardner. I had a jury trial, and I asked him for my witnesses. He told me I didn't need any witnesses, but the key witnesses' support. But the law had denied my witnesses. The girl they said I raped I've known all my life. She is a Black lady. Her name is Margaret Seals. She stays at 45 Allen Circle, Milledgeville, Georgia. She told the people I didn't do anything to her. Yes, I have proof, I have proof to show but they got me locked up for something I didn't do.

I've got a hearing set up on January 19, 1977, that's why I need your help. I want the world to know that these people in Milledgeville, Georgia, got an innocent man named Tommy Stone locked up in prison for 40 years for something he didn't do. I have a daughter and my family has been trying to get some legal help for me about a year and a half now, but everybody wants money, but no action. Will you please help me and my mother? My mother has the proof I didn't have anything to do with that kidnap and rape. This is my mother's address: 207 Grimes Avenue, Milledgeville, Georgia 31061. The phone number is 452-9424. Will you please help? I've been railroaded and put in prison for nothing. I want the world to know it. They got me just like they got JoAnne Little. Please help me so I can go back to New York City. Write me back soon and let me know something.

Sincerely,  
Tommy C. Stone  
Reidsville, Ga. 30453

### PROUD OF ELAINE AND ERICKA

Dear Black Panther Party:

I hope that this letter reaches you in the best health of God's loving care. One of my respected brothers by the name of Paul Redd receives your paper, and I read it and try to stay in tune with what's happening in Oakland and other parts of this oppressed world, for our people and other poor minorities. I never knew anything about Sisters Elaine Brown and Ericka Huggins, but I am proud to have accumulated knowledge about these two strong Black women. I also wish the BPP the best of luck with their 100 million dollar lawsuit against the political White gangsters that try to do something that never in a lifetime they can do, and that is to destroy the unity of the BPP and other Black establishments throughout the world.

I remember when the BPP first started selling buttons out of North Oakland. I and my friend Walter Woods use to have a lot of buttons and a tam and black leather jackets, and the police used to harass us all the time. I'm 21 now so I must have been 11 or 12 years of age. I was too young to be a threat to anyone at that time, and the police used to pull guns on me. They were awful then and they are awful now. With the KKK around, make sure that Elaine and Ericka are protected from those punks. When that punk mentions a racial war, we'll slaughter those white dress-wearing boys. They say that the Marines are tough. The Marines ain't nothing.

Erle Reed B-70661  
P.O. Box 600/H-329  
Tracy, Calif. 95376

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## COMMENT

# Combating Police State Tendencies

By David Wise

The following commentary, written by researcher David Wise, details the spiraling trend toward overt fascism America — the continuing lawless abuses by federal government agencies which threaten to subvert the Constitutional rights of the people. Wise is the author of several books on the devious behind-the-scenes workings of the federal police. His latest is *The American Police State: The Government Against the People*.

The coming to power of an elected President with a Congress controlled by his own political party offers an unparalleled opportunity to bring an end to lawbreaking by the intelligence and police agencies of the federal government.

For some four decades, a period spanning seven administrations, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other government intelligence agencies have broken the law and violated the Constitution — secretly, out of view of the governed, often under cover of night.

The statistics are breathtaking: 28 million letters screened by the CIA and hundreds of thousands opened; millions of cables read and copied by the National Security Agency in Operation Shamrock; 300,000 names in the "Hydra" computer used in Operation CHAOS, the CIA domestic-spying program; 465,000 names in the intelligence files of the Internal Revenue Service; 10,665 FBI "national security" wiretaps and bugs over a 25-year period, and hundreds of FBI burglaries. The law-breaking, in short, has become institutionalized.

We should not assume that the abuses have ended because of publicity. On July 7, three days after the nation celebrated its Bicentennial, Timothy J. Redfearn, who received \$400 a month from the FBI as an informant, broke into the offices of the Socialist Workers Party in Denver. He stole files and within hours showed them to his case

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## Benavidez Family Files \$2 Million "Wrongful Death" Suit For Cop Killing

(Oakland, Calif.) - A two million dollar "wrongful death" suit was filed against the city of Oakland here last Tuesday by the family of slain Jose Barlow Benavidez, a victim of a brutal police killing in June of last year.

Barlow Benavidez was killed by rookie cop Michael Cogley, who shot him in the back at point-blank range with a shotgun without any cause. However, Oakland city and police officials and a grand jury termed the killing "accidental" despite numerous witnesses who testified to the contrary.

The Benavidez Committee Against Police Crimes brought over 400 people to the Oakland City Council late last year and a similar number marched through the predominantly Black and Chicano East Oakland community in protest of this vicious murder. Still, no action was taken.

As a result, the Barlow Benavidez Committee, in conjunction with Centio Legal de la Raza, filed suit on January 11 charging



BENAVIDEZ family.

Cogley with extreme negligence for the murder of Benavidez; charging the Oakland Police Department with negligence in Cogley's training and supervision and his maintenance as a police officer; and charging that the city of Oakland should have been aware of Cogley's extreme propensity for violence.

At a press conference and picket lines at the Alameda County Administration Building, Centio Legal lawyer Tony Valladolid explained that the lawsuit is the only recourse left to the family other than continued protest. A federal suit charging that Benavidez's civil rights were violated is now being contemplated.



ERICKA HUGGINS blasted the Alameda County Board of Education for its acceptance of racist Walt Disney film which whitewashed the oppression of the American Eskimo.

ERICKA HUGGINS DENOUNCES 1965 DOCUMENTARY AS "INANE"

## COUNTY EDUCATION BOARD APPROVES RACIST ESKIMO FILM

(Hayward, Calif.) - Over the strong objections of Ericka Huggins, the Alameda County Board of Education last week approved a racist movie on the Eskimo people of Alaska for use in the public schools of the county.

Ericka first voiced her concern over the film — *The Alaskan Eskimo* — to her fellow Board members last fall after she read a review of the 1965 Walt Disney movie in the county schools film library catalog. The catalog describes the Eskimos, who live in abject poverty, as a "proud and happy people."

"I want to make it clear that I am not picking on this particular film," Ericka emphasized at last

week's Board meeting, at which the film was shown at Ericka's insistence. "The issue is, who and what criteria are used to select the films that our children see."

*The Alaskan Eskimo* documents the unbelievably harsh and difficult conditions the Eskimo people endure in order to survive life in their sub-zero environment. The film focuses on the struggle of one family to eke out the bare necessities of life. While the film plays up the love that exists among the family members, it offers no explanation about why a group of people who are American citizens are allowed to live in such substandard

conditions.

Criticizing the biased nature of the film, Ericka said, "It does not represent Eskimo people as I believe they would have themselves represented. There is a tendency to represent them as the filmmakers want them to be portrayed. I cannot help but wonder why nothing has been done about the poverty in which the Eskimo people live."

She added, "The film hurts me because I cannot imagine why in 1977... people are using primitive instruments and going through a number of unbelievable changes just to have a house, food and clothing. This isn't the way Americans want to live. The Americans who made the film did it with a chuckle and a grin."

### RACIST REMARK

At one point in the movie, the narrator makes a blatantly racist remark. As the Eskimo family makes a specially prepared blueberry ice cream to celebrate the safe return of the father after a hunting expedition, the narrator intentionally refers to the ice cream as "this mess," then quickly, and sarcastically, corrects himself.

Ericka reminded the Board members that children are very impressionable. "If they see this film, they will get the impression that Eskimos are very happy and don't care about living in mud houses. The film is reminiscent of the racist way in which Black people are portrayed by 'Step-in Fetchit,' in *Little Rascal* and old slave movies; Native American people are shown in cowboy and Indian movies; the horrible way in which Asian and Filipino

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## In Memoriam

DR. MARTIN  
LUTHER KING, JR.

Born:  
January 15, 1929

Assassinated:  
April 4, 1968



The great civil rights leader and founder of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was born on January 15, 1929, in Atlanta, Georgia. After he graduated from Boston University, King went on to Montgomery, Alabama, where he led the famed and successful Montgomery bus boycott. For his extraordinary work on behalf of Black and oppressed people and his opposition to war and tyranny, Dr. King won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1963. On April 4, 1968, he was struck down by an assassin in Memphis, Tennessee.





Berkeley Co-Op  
Progressive slate  
(left to right):  
LINDA AKULIAN,  
CHRISTY  
HEIGHTON, ED  
KIRSHNER and  
CLEOPHAS  
BROWN.

## B.P.P. SUPPORTS PROGRESSIVE SLATE IN CO-OP ELECTIONS

(Oakland, Calif.) - The Black Panther Party has announced its support for four progressive candidates for the Board of Directors of the Consumer Co-operative of Berkeley (Co-op) election-being held this month: Ed Kirshner, an economic planner and longtime activist who has worked closely with Party chairperson Elaine Brown in her bids for electoral office in Oakland; Cleophas Brown, a trade unionist and Black community representative; Linda Akulian, a consumer activist and educator; and Christy Heighton, a member of Environmental Action.

### ACTIVITIES

Concerning their role in coordinating Co-op activities, which includes running five Co-op (low-cost, consumer-concerned) supermarkets located in the Oakland-

Berkeley area, and several others, the progressive slate comments in a joint statement:

"We want to bring progressive direction back to Co-op and bring Co-op back to people. We were nominated by a Co-op convention open to all Co-op members with publicity in the *Co-op News* and other local papers. Our program represents community interests like our determined efforts to redevelop University Avenue Co-op Center.

### SURVIVAL

"As Progressives we believe that Co-op survival is based on continued health as a sound business and as a movement for change in our society. Progressives have stood for principled participation in reform even before it was popular to do so; war moratorium, farmworker

movement, employee organizing and grievance procedures, affirmation action at all levels of Co-op employment, municipalization of utilities. . .

"As candidates we bring experience in economic planning, finance, business administration, trade unionism, consumer action, and long-time involvement in the co-operative movement. Confronted by continuing food price competition and selection of a new general manager, we must be MORE of a Co-op, less of a Safeway, leading our members and consumers in facing major issues."

The progressive slate has also developed a concrete program to continue the Co-op as a healthy business and a movement of people seeking alternatives in society. □

## THIS WEEK IN BLACK HISTORY

### January 14, 1868

On January 14, 1868, the South Carolina Constitutional Convention met in Charleston. This was the first assembly of its kind in the Western world, with 76 of the 124 delegates being Black.

### January 15, 1873

Following the Civil War the period known as "Reconstruction" ushered in a period of unprecedented Black political power. The election of P.B.S. Pinchback to the U.S. Senate on January 15, 1873, was one of the major events of this era. Pinchback was the first Black person elected to the Senate.

### January 15, 1941

Yancey Williams, a Black Howard University student, filed suit against the secretary of war and other government officials on January 15, 1941, demanding that his application for enlistment in the Army Air Corps as a flying cadet be considered.



COUNTTEE CULLEN

### January 9, 1946

On January 9, 1946, the great Black poet Countee Cullen died in New York City. Cullen, a genius as a poet, was best described in one of his own poems, *What Is Africa To Me*:  
Copper sun or scarlet sea,  
Jungle star or jungle track,  
Strang bronzed men, or royal  
black women from whose loins  
I sprang  
When the birds of Eden sang?



## Super Bowl Celebration Rocks At O.C.L.C.

(Oakland, Calif.) - The Oakland Community Learning Center was jam-packed and jumping last Sunday as over 400 people flocked to the popular East Oakland center for a "Super Bowl Victory Celebration."

The lively program kicked off with film highlights of last year's Super Bowl game between the Pittsburgh Steelers and the Dallas Cowboys and; (A) Striking models from LA VOY'S FASHIONS put on a dashing fashion show; (B) The URBAN RENEWAL BAND had everybody screaming and dancing in the aisles; and (C) Former Tower of Power lead singer LENNY WILLIAMS sang a special song for everyone, receiving a standing ovation for his efforts.

Also, (D, center) star recording artist MERL SAUNDERS sat in with the hot Urban Renewal Band to round out an afternoon that was thoroughly enjoyed and appreciation.



B.P.P.S. photos



# WITNESSES INTIMIDATED NOT TO TESTIFY AT FRED HAMPTON MURDER TRIAL

(Chicago, Ill.) - According to sworn statements filed in federal court here, the federal government is mounting a terror campaign to stop two former Black Panther Party members from testifying at the \$47.7 million Fred Hampton murder trial.

In their affidavits, both Robert Bruce and Nathaniel Junior say that FBI agent-provocateur William O'Neal has harassed them and made thinly-veiled threats against them if they testify at the trial. Bruce's statement also accuses an attorney, representing former Cook County State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan (the official who sent out the elite police raiders who assassinated Hampton and Black Panther Party member Mark Clark on December 4, 1969), and a federal police agent of harassing him on his job.

Both men say they fear for their personal safety as well as the safety of their families.

The defendants in the case, 28 present and former federal, state and local law enforcement officials, recognize that Bruce and Junior can potentially blow apart O'Neal's testimony, providing concrete evidence that the FBI spy committed a variety of illegal and provocative acts in his efforts to set up the murder of Fred Hampton.

According to excerpts from Robert Bruce's sworn statement:

"1. I was a member of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party during 1968 to 1970, and that I was well acquainted with William McKinley O'Neal as a fellow member of the chapter during that time.



Police agent WILLIAM O'NEAL was a major figure in the Fred Hampton assassination plot.

"2. That in 1973 I was a witness in federal court in Chicago in the criminal trial of Sgt. Stanley Robinson, along with O'Neal. It was only through the Robinson case that I learned that O'Neal was working undercover for the FBI, and had been during the time of my association with him in the Black Panther Party.

"3. That, after testifying for the government in the Robinson case, I was relocated away from Chicago under the provisions of the Witness Protection Act, and

solemnly promised by the U.S. Attorney, Charles Kocoras, that my whereabouts and identity would be kept secret to protect against reprisals.

"4. In February, 1976, I received a call from O'Neal at my new location, which I had trusted and assumed would be kept secret from him. He said he was calling as an old friend, passed the time of day, and said he would be talking to me.

"5. That thereafter, on or about the 10th day of April, 1976, CONTINUED ON PAGE 20

## No Criminal Charges For F.B.I. Abuses

(Washington, D.C.) - Justice Department prosecutors investigating alleged corruption in the Federal Bureau of Investigation have reportedly decided that they cannot bring major criminal charges against anyone, high or low in the FBI hierarchy.

One Department source has told the *New York Times* that "although the prosecutors had uncovered a pattern of impropriety and maladministration reaching back many years," indictments were not likely to be sought due to: the "negligible" amounts of money involved; the question of "fairness" to those under investigation; and the fact that the five-year statute of limitations on federal prosecutions has run out in many cases.

The investigation into corruption, which is under the direction of Michael J. Shakeen, head of the Justice Department Office of Professional Responsibility, is one of two separate criminal inquiries into FBI activities underway within the Department. The second one, which concerns the use of burglaries and other illegal investigative techniques, is making progress and, reportedly, a federal grand jury will soon be asked to vote indictments in the matter.

### POSSIBILITY

One source has raised the possibility that the Department might issue a report outlining the wrongdoing that has been uncovered, instead of criminally prosecuting FBI agents who have violated the law.

In a related action, the Justice Department recently issued formal administrative guidelines designed to prevent future abusive and illegal acts on the part of undercover informers controlled by the FBI and to balance the use of informers against the possibility that their presence might "stifle" free speech and association.

The guidelines, which mark the first efforts by the Justice Department to lay down detailed standards on the Bureau's use of informers, would theoretically prohibit many of the abuses uncovered by Congressional and other investigators over the past two years. Their implementation in day-to-day practice, however, is "questionable," according to sources. The new "standards" bar informers from participating CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

## F.B.I., Assassinations Panel Clash Over J.F.K. Murder Bullet

(Washington, D.C.) - A bullet buried near where President John F. Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas, Texas, has touched off a dispute between the House Select Committee on Assassinations and the FBI.

In a related development, House leaders said last week that the Select Committee will probably get considerably less than the \$6.5 million it seeks for the coming year as the result of opposition from two key House chairmen to the Committee's investigations into the murders of Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Concerning the buried bullet — found by an amateur treasure hunter two years ago in the



JOHN F. KENNEDY (slumped) as he was assassinated on November 22, 1963. Despite claim by the Warren Commission that Kennedy's murder was the work of a "lone nut," there is ample evidence to support a conspiracy theory.

general area of the Kennedy assassination and given to the FBI — the Bureau wants to compare the bullet with test shots fired from the rifle of suspected Kennedy assassin Lee Harvey Oswald that are now locked up in the National Archives here along with the bullets and fragments used in the Kennedy killing.

### EXHIBITS

Acting Archives head James O'Neill has refused to give the Kennedy exhibits to the FBI because the Select Committee maintains that it has jurisdiction over them. Richard Sprague, chief counsel and director of the Committee, last week asked the FBI for the bullet but at week's end had received no reply.



# LIONEL WILSON ANNOUNCES CANDIDACY

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

judgeship for a \$15,000-a-year mayor's post. Wilson said frankly:

"People seem to forget that this nation was built on the commitment of people willing to make personal sacrifices to bring about changes. I have a deep commitment to Oakland and I don't want to see it go the way of Newark, Rochester or Gary."

Concerning Oakland's economic problems — with an unemployment rate of over 60 per cent for Black youth and somewhere between 23 to 30 per cent for minorities of all ages — Wilson commented, "Oakland's economic stability will be affected by our ability to re-evaluate our city's utilization of its financial resources: the assistance we receive from our Port, the completion of the City Center Project; a new Industrial Park; and our ability to see that Oakland residents are financially capable of participating in the growth of this city."

## PORT OF OAKLAND

Concerning the Port — which has come under heavy fire recently for not contributing any funds to the financially troubled city — Judge Wilson said he wanted to study much more its operations and what part it could



LIONEL WILSON and his wife DOROTHY (left) as Wilson speaks at huge campaign kick-off. Assemblyman BILL LOCKYER (right) introduced the popular Alameda County judge.

Panther Party, Wilson said "there was a lot of paranoia about the Panthers, but people tend to forget that the Panthers are running a Community School."

"...if the Black Panther Party works in the same framework as I do, then I'll work with them."

At the gala reception, master of ceremonies John George, a longtime friend and associate of Judge Wilson and who was recently seated as the first Black member of the Alameda County Board of Supervisors, read a prestigious list of prominent

politicians who have endorsed the Wilson campaign: U.S. Senator Alan Cranston; Representatives Ron Dellums and Fortney "Pete" Stark; California Secretary of State March Fong Yu; state Senators Nick Petris and John Holmdahl; state Assemblymen John Miller, Tom Bates and Bill Lockyer; Oakland City Councilmen Josh Rose and John Sutter.

Receiving a standing ovation from the packed-in bubbling audience, Judge Wilson made a brief, optimistic speech, stressing the "people's cam-



paign" mounting around his candidacy by leaps and bounds.

"This is our candidacy," Judge Wilson said, his face beaming with a wide smile as his wife, Dorothy, stood by his side.

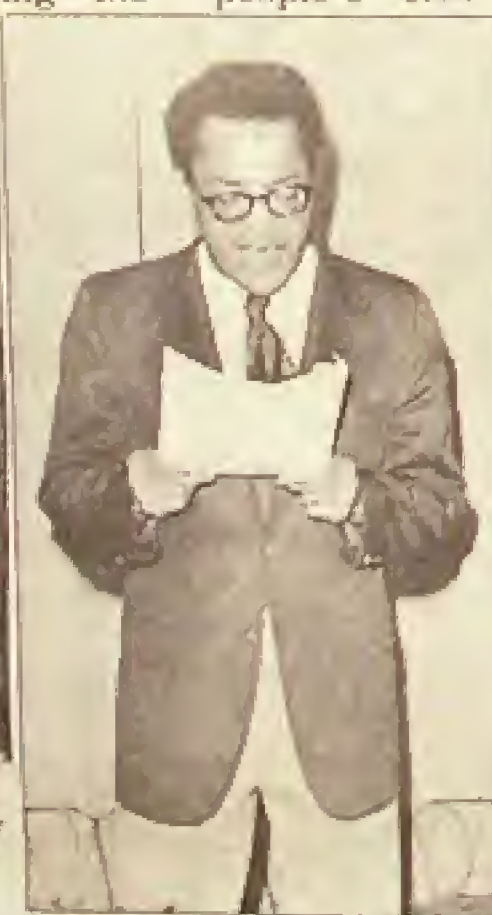
"I say 'our candidacy' because I don't think of it as Lionel Wilson personally. Lionel Wilson is merely a catalyst, a conduit, through which we can express the needs that we have as people in this city that so many of us love. It's a beautiful city; it has many assets.

"I see Oakland at the crossroads — it simply needs leadership. I think that with you, we can provide that new leadership and prevent our city from going the way of some of those Eastern cities. We're not going to let Oakland go that way.

"We're enthusiastic. We're old friends, all on the same side. It looks good."



LIONEL WILSON (center) with (left to right) ELIJAH TURNER, PAUL COBB, DON McCULLUM, RENE DAVIDSON and (right) JOHN GEORGE, master of ceremonies at Wilson's campaign kick-off.



play in contributing to the city's success. "I believe that the Port of Oakland is an integral part of the city and is not set apart from the total city."

Judge Wilson added that he is opposed to the city's pending employee's license tax, which would levy a one per cent tax on the salaries of all persons working in Oakland, because he believes it will hamper the expansion of the city's economic base, scaring away new businesses.

When asked by a reporter what was his position on the Black

## County Education Board Approves Racist Eskimo Film

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

people are portrayed in films; and poor White people in Appalachia are shown in hillbilly films."

Following the Board's approval of the film, Ericka, who, along the Board member Mary Hardy cast the only two negative votes, announced that she intends to investigate the procedure in which films and books are selected for county-run schools.

In other business, the Board refuses to reconsider its support

of the location of the proposed North County Development Center. Because the Center is scheduled to be built in an area that runs along an earthquake fault, Mary Hardy urged the Board to re-evaluate its approval of the construction site. The Center will be used to educate handicapped and mentally retarded children.

It was also revealed at last week's meeting that a 17-year-old Fremont high school student

whom the Board reinstated in school last month after his expulsion in September, 1976, has been expelled again. The youth was expelled on trumped-up charges of assaulting an instructor who beat the youth up for smoking a cigarette on school grounds. The Board of Education ruled that he had been given an improper hearing, but last week, the Fremont Board of Education held another meeting and re-expelled him.





Schomburg Library demonstration.

**\$3.7 MILLION**

## Community Pressure Forces "Concession" For Schomburg Library

(New York, N.Y.) — Bowing to growing Black community protest, the federal government announced last week that \$3.7 million in Public Works funds would be allocated to construct a new facility for Harlem's renowned Black archives, the Schomburg Library, the first concession in a full-scale 30-year battle to save one of the most treasured collection of materials on Black history.

The decision to allocate funds to save the library, which contains the world's largest collection of materials by and about Black people, was the result of an intense campaign waged by the Citizen's Coalition to Save the Schomburg (CCSS), a national broad-based coalition of community, labor and legal groups and individuals.

### HARLEM

Larry Holmes, a member of the Center for United Labor Action and a leading organizer of the citizen's group, told *Workers' World* newspaper, "This was not some humanitarian gesture by the government, but a concession forced on them by the people and especially the Harlem community."

"We want to inform everyone who picketed outside the New York Public Library (NYPL) Board of Trustees," said Holmes, "who rallied in Harlem, confronted politicians in City Hall and who collected thousands of petitions that this is their victory."

"We see the \$3.7 million grant as a step in the right direction," he said, "but we won't forget for a moment that this sum is but 10 per cent of what was promised the Schomburg just four years ago." □

## CHICAGO'S CABRINI GREEN TENANTS CELEBRATE CHRISTMAS WITHOUT HEAT

(Chicago, Ill.) — Nearly 40 Cabrini Green tenants and their children who were without heat for two weeks during Christmas and New Year's holidays, staged a sit-in and press conference at the manager's office at 418 W. Oak in the Cabrini housing complex.

For two weeks, buildings at 862 N. Sedgewick, 911 and 923 N. Sedgewick, were without heat, temperatures sometimes dropping to 15 degrees below zero at night. Everytime the management was called, the answer was that they would turn the boiler up. Tenants contend that the boiler was not functioning.

Residents complained of temperatures at ten and twenty degrees inside apartments. They

could see their breath. The windows were caked with layers of ice that could not have formed at temperatures over 32 degrees.

Francis Hines said that in the day when the sun would shine the ice would melt, causing water to run on the carpet, curtains and

walls. Then at night it would freeze, with her curtains freezing to the walls.

Norma Hall described conditions at 923 N. Sedgewick where no heat for two weeks had caused water pipes to burst, making a great rush of water fall down

*Residents in Chicago's huge Cabrini Green housing project had to endure 15 below zero temperatures for two weeks (sister points to ice inside window, right).*



*Over 20 families held a sit-in at the project manager's office, demanding heat and just compensation.*

the elevator shaft. The elevator was frozen stuck. Other residents complained that breezes coming under the door and through windows made it dangerous to leave gas ovens on as the pilot lights would be blown out.

Yet people had to rely on the heat from gas stoves to keep the temperature above freezing. The children said, "We're tired of having to sleep with our coats AND our hats on."

Tenants said that the manager, Mr. Barrett, and his assistant manager, Ms. Barker, were aware that there was no heat on the Thursday before Christmas. Paulette Rhodes said, "They just left at four-thirty as quick as they could get out of here. They KNEW there was no heat. They should have stayed 24 hours if necessary to insure there was heat. They are getting paid to see that this place functions."

Paulette Rhodes called Marion Stamps of the Chicago Housing Tenants Organization (CHTO) and together they went door to door asking people to petition the manager. Tenants went to Mr. Barrett and Ms. Barker wanting to know:

1. How long would they be without heat.
2. What was the heating problem.
3. What alternatives would be provided until the heating was functioning and what compensation could tenants expect from damaged furniture, clothing and health. □

## Racial Strife Rocks Bay Area High School

(San Carlos, Calif.) — Twenty-four students were suspended here last week due to racial violence between White students and Black students which plagued San Carlos High School for two consecutive days.

The school was ordered closed following a flare-up which involved widespread fighting between 400 Black and White students and ended with six students injured and two arrested. Sequoia Union High School District head Harry Reynolds, the district's first Black superintendent, met for two hours with the East Palo Alto Municipal Council. East Palo Alto is the predominantly Black San Mateo County, California, community from which most of San Carlos High's Black students are based.

After the meeting, Gertrude Wilks, who heads the East Palo Alto Council, revealed that a committee had been organized to investigate the possibility of providing educational facilities so Black students could be educated in their own community.

"There are about 200 people in the community," she said, "who are not in school and have not graduated. After this incident I expect we will be getting some more expelled students. We want to provide them with a place to complete their education."

One possibility, she said, was the reopening of East Palo Alto's Ravenswood High School, which was closed this year despite heated Black community protest.





GARY TYLER (inset), an 18-year-old Louisiana youth framed on murder charges, is gaining nationwide support in his bid for a new trial.

## GARY TYLER: "JUSTICE DON'T EXIST—ONLY INJUSTICE"

Following, *THE BLACK PANTHER* presents an informative and interesting interview with Gary Tyler, an 18-year-old Black youth falsely convicted on murder charges resulting from a 1974 White vigilante attack on a bus filled with Black schoolchildren in Destrehan, Louisiana.

A movement to "Free Gary Tyler" has held large demonstrations in several U.S. cities, rallying support for Tyler who was denied a new trial despite the fact that several key witnesses have recanted their accusations against him, charging they were coerced by the police. Pending appeal of this ruling, Tyler remains imprisoned. He was recently moved off Angola Prison's death row when Louisiana's death penalty was ruled unconstitutional. The interview is reprinted from *The Southern Patriot*.

**Q:** What is the state of your case in the courts? What do you think it will take to win your freedom?

**TYLER:** I read in the papers that William Guste and several other attorneys general and assistant attorneys general signed a brief and filed that in court to try to block me from getting a new trial and to try to get me resentenced to death. But I'm not worried about that because the people are behind me. They are the ones keeping my faith up.

I can't worry about what they're doing 'cause I know a Black man cannot get justice in the courts. The only way we can get justice is by the people pressuring the courts and making

the courts submit and giving this man justice.

Justice don't exist — the only thing is injustice. Democracy does not exist. We're being treated like subhumans. You can't say the people got the power. Hey, look, they are the ones that got the power. Democracy is for the rich, not for the poor.

I'm for the demonstrations. End oppression by every means. Oppression has got to go. Like the Supreme Court, they might listen to my case, but that doesn't mean they're going to reach a fair decision. It's going to take a demonstration. It really takes it and I support it.

We young, youths, are the rich people's enemy. We are a threat to them, so they are going to do everything they can to exterminate the young.

**Q:** Several years ago, prisoners in Angola State Penitentiary rebelled, protesting the bad conditions and inhumane treatment. You spent seven months

there. What are the conditions now?

**TYLER:** The conditions in Angola are bad, too bad. In maximum security, you're confined to your cell 23 hours a day.

They don't give you anything to clean the cells. When they come to wash the walls, they just spill water all over the cells. They don't give you any soap powder to wash the wall or the floor. They don't give you any kind of liquid to clean the lavatory out. They just run the water and go about their business. And the walls just mildew, all kinds of black spots.

They don't have any kind of screens and the windows are all busted out. Angola is situated deep in the woods. Nothing but mosquitoes and bugs. It gets cold too, real cold. A man could freeze to death up there. The heaters, you don't call them heaters. They blow cold air!

They come and get anyone they want off of death row and say — hey, you got to strip. They don't

CONTINUED ON PAGE 24

## PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

### Freedom Rider Sues F.B.I.

(Grand Rapids, Mich.) - The FBI has been named in a \$1 million lawsuit filed by 77-year-old Walter Bergman and his wife, who sustained serious injuries when attacked by Ku Klux Klansmen on a "Freedom Riders" bus in Alabama on May 14, 1961. The suit, filed on behalf of Bergman, who has been confined to a wheelchair since the incident, charges that the FBI had advance knowledge that the bus might be in danger but did not prevent the attack.

### Inez Garcia Gains Lawyer

(Salinas, Calif.) - Inez Garcia, currently being retried for the shooting death of Miguel Jimenez, the man who held her down while another raped her in 1974, was granted a motion for a new attorney here recently. Ms. Garcia will be defended by Susan Jordan, the lawyer who successfully argued her appeal for a second trial. Ms. Jordan will replace two deputy public defenders.

### Inmates Win Ruling

(Concord, Calif.) - A Contra Costa County Superior Court judge recently ruled in favor of 36 unsentenced inmates at the Clayton jail who charged that they were harassed, tortured and mistreated. The judge has ordered the county sheriff to prohibit deputies from mistreating the inmates or from using the facilities to "harass, annoy or molest" them. The prisoners' complaints included being handcuffed to the top of their cell bars for 11 hours, loudspeakers used to awaken them in the night with Nazi music, sounds of dog fights, train whistles and a Chinese gong.

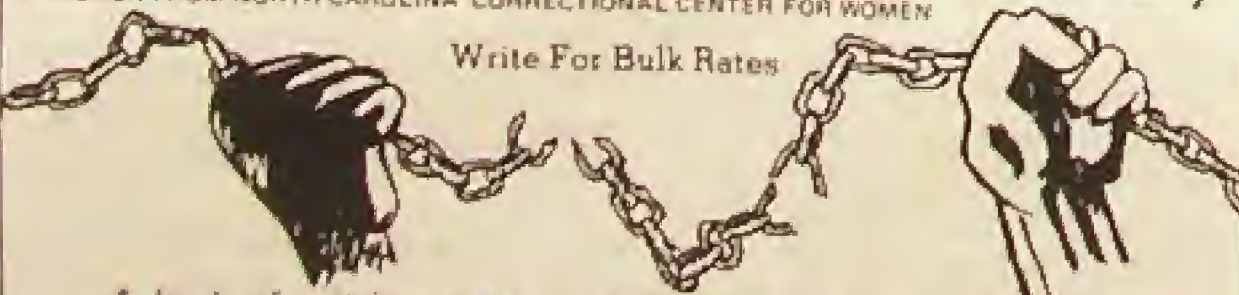
### Students Mistrust Gov't.

(New York, N.Y.) - A recent survey of the political knowledge of young people 13 and 17 years old has disclosed major gaps in the students' understanding of the fundamentals of U.S. government. For example, although there were signs that the students strongly supported the rights of Blacks and women, one out of every eight 17-year-olds believes that the President is not required to obey the law and one-half of the 13-year-olds think that it is illegal to start a new political party.

## Break de Chains of Legalized U\$ Slavery

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All profits from the book go to the women who wrote it.



## Texas Judge Approves TV Filming Of Executions

(Dallas, Texas) - In one of the most outrageous, reactionary legal decisions handed down in recent U.S. history, a federal judge ruled here last week that executions at the Texas state prison may be filmed and later shown on television.

Even conservative Texas Attorney General John Hill denounced the ruling handed down by U.S. District Court Judge William Taylor as "utter nonsense," saying he would appeal the infamous decision.

Taylor's ruling came as the result of a suit filed by reporter Tony Garrett of Dallas public TV station KERA who sought permission to film an execution and interview inmates on death row at the state prison in Huntsville. Referring to an execution as an "act of state," Taylor said:

### MEDIA

"... the news media are entitled to have representatives there (at executions), following a policy that had been followed for a number of years. That is what the representatives of the *Associated Press* (A.P.) and *United Press International* (UPI) would serve as pool reporters (those who share news reports with



1940 execution of Mississippi Black man.

other reporters) and also there could not be any distinction as far as electronic media were concerned...."

The implications of Taylor's inhumane decision go beyond the sheer barbarity of millions of people watching a helpless human being brutally die in the

## CALIFORNIA GOVERNOR BROWN VOWS TO VETO DEATH PENALTY BILL

(Sacramento, Calif.) - In an unexpected political move, Governor Jerry Brown announced last week that "as a matter of conscience" he would veto any bill passed by the state legislature re-establishing the death penalty in California.

Brown saved his bombshell for the end of his brief, 10-minute "State of the State" address to a joint session of both legislative houses gathered in the Assembly chambers.

The 38-year-old Democratic governor said first that he "respects the judgment of the people," referring to California voters who approved a capital punishment ballot initiative by a 2 to 1 margin in 1972.

He quickly followed that saying, "For me it is a matter of conscience. I feel that way. And if a (death penalty) bill should come to my desk, I will return it without a signature," using technical language from the state constitution to announce his veto intentions.

### SENTENCE

Brown proposed that a sentence of "life without possibility of parole be the sanction available to juries in our state" for capital crimes. (Aides to the governor later acknowledged that Brown's proposal would not eliminate the governor's power for commutation of sentences.)

Capital punishment became a hot political issue throughout California last month when the state supreme court ruled that the state's death penalty, enacted in 1973, is un-Constitutional since it does not conform to a subsequent U.S. Supreme Court ruling.

Conservative and right-wing legislators immediately blasted



Governor JERRY BROWN with his father, PAT BROWN (right), while the governor was in a Jesuit seminary. The younger Brown has stated his opposition to any executions in California's gas chamber (above).



definite stand on the issue and to minimize his losses in a no-win situation.

Brown has a long history of opposition to capital punishment. In 1960, as a young seminary student, he urged his father, then Governor Pat Brown, to spare the life of Caryl Chessman, a convicted kidnapper-rapist who later became an internationally-known author. In 1967, Brown was among those who stood outside San Quentin Prison protesting California's last execution.

During his "State of the State" address, the governor said that "number one on the agenda" in 1977 was property tax relief. He formally proposed a half-billion dollar plan, based upon income, to help "the hardest hit" and senior citizens.

Brown's announcement, saying that any veto would be overridden (a two-thirds vote) by the legislature. Several Republican hopefuls in the 1978 gubernatorial elections - including state Attorney General Evelle Younger, Los Angeles Police Chief Ed Davis and San Diego Mayor Pete Wilson, three "law and order" candidates - all issued statements indicating they felt Brown had severely hurt his re-election chances.

Other political analysts said they felt that by making his announcement this early, Brown would both halt the growing pressure for him to take a

## Marion Black Cultural Society Members Face Repression

(Marion, Illinois) - Members of the Black Cultural Society here at Marion Federal Penitentiary have been put in segregation for their refusal to cover-up prison conditions in a TV documentary which was scheduled for airing last month.

"As far as we were concerned, a whitewash was out. We would expose all the dirt that has accumulated over the years - the beatings, the harassment, the discrimination," stated Eddie Griffin, a prisoner at the Marion, Illinois, Federal Prison, after the suppression of the prison's Black

Cultural Society for its refusal to whitewash Marion prison conditions on a southern Illinois television program.

The television program, which was to be taped on December 9, was cancelled before taping. Griffin, the vice-chairman of the Black Cultural Society, and five other members were put in segregation. A total of nine members of the Black Cultural Society have been put in segregation in recent weeks.

The chairman of the group, Horace Grayden, and three other members were segregated from

the general population in mid-November following the abrupt cancellation of a drama workshop from Southern Illinois University-Carbondale. The drama workshop, which went to Marion to entertain prisoners with poetry and skits about Black American life, was cancelled on November 12 with a half-hour of the show remaining. Prison officials pulled the microphones and cleared the room for no apparent reason.

For more information contact: National Committee to Support the Marion Brothers, 6199 Waterman, St. Louis, Missouri 63112.



# I-HOTEL SUPPORTERS PICKET CITY HALL—NEW EVICTION ORDER POSTED

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Over 200 supporters of International Hotel (I-Hotel) tenants picketed City Hall here last Monday and marched on the San Francisco Housing Authority, demanding that the city move immediately to block the upcoming eviction of the elderly Filipino and Chinese residents of the old Chinatown building.

Also, last week, I-Hotel supporters greeted San Francisco Mayor George Moscone with a Sunday picket line at his home in an effort to pressure him to take more forceful action on behalf of the tenants, who have been fighting for over eight years to save their homes.



Over 200 supporters of I-Hotel tenants last week picketed San Francisco City Hall. Hotel resident FELIX AYSON (inset) addressed the crowd.

At the picket line in front of city hall, I-Hotel tenant Felix Ayson explained, "We are all here to ask the city to take action to enforce eminent domain (state's power over property) for us. We are here to tell the city that we have nowhere to go, that we are humans, not materials."

In an emotional tone, Ayson added, "When we were younger we worked on the farms, the factories and all kinds of crafts. Now that we are old and can no longer produce, nobody cares for us. . . Our limited incomes and Social Security are not enough."

After Ayson spoke, the lively crowd of demonstrators marched to the Housing Authority office where a delegation went inside to demand that the agency begin the process of enforcing eminent domain.

Under this process the city would acquire the I-Hotel for \$1.3 million from the Hong Kong-based Four Seas Corporation.

Four Seas has been trying to evict the I-Hotel tenants and demolish the structure to make way for a downtown parking lot.

Both the San Francisco Board of Supervisors and the Housing Authority have approved the acquisition of the I-Hotel, but

tenant supporters have demanded speedier action.

Already a very one-sided lease has been signed between the I-Hotel Tenants Association (IHTA) and the Housing Authority. Under the lease, the elderly tenants would be responsible for all repairs (close to \$500,000 worth) and fire insurance. The lease waives such tenant rights as the withholding of rent due to grievances and requires that the \$1.3 million be repaid in one year.

After the meeting with the tenants, the Housing Authority claimed that the papers for the eminent domain process would be signed the next day, ending a two-week stall.

Recently, over 400 people turned out when half-a-dozen sheriff's cars and 20 sheriffs' deputies rolled up to post a January 19 eviction order, meaning that the tenants could be evicted anytime between January 12 and 19.

The eviction orders were posted after the deputies forced their way through the crowd, who

quickly torn the orders down. If the eviction takes place, at least 2,000 supporters are expected to show up to form a human barricade.

overlooked by local media is that the I-Hotel building also houses several progressive, grassroots Asian community organizations. All of the groups have been instrumental in leading and participating in various Chinatown community struggles in recent years.

In a related development, San Francisco County Sheriff Richard Hongisto is facing contempt of court charges for refusing to carry out a December 15 eviction of I-Hotel tenants. Hongisto contends that he doesn't have enough manpower to carry out the eviction since he fears a "violent confrontation."

Both Hongisto and Under-sheriff John Denman were found guilty of contempt and sentenced to five days in jail with \$500 fines. However, the sentence will not be imposed until their lawyers have a chance to appeal the decision.

## No Criminal Charges For F.B.I. Abuses

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

in or provoking violence, from employing unlawful techniques, such as burglaries, in gathering information and from compromising a federal prosecution of individuals on whom they have provided information — all common but illegal tactics used by agent-provocateurs in thwarting people's struggles.

Meanwhile, the monitoring of private citizens by the Chicago Police Department, the FBI and military intelligence units in Chicago has recently received sharp criticism.

Two dozen leading Chicago area attorneys, professors, clergymen, businessmen and journalists recently made public political files that were compiled on them illegally by the Chicago Police Department. Spokesmen for the group said that the files, obtained as a result of discovery motions granted in class action suits on behalf of those monitored by the Chicago Police Department, the FBI, and military intelligence units represented only a tiny part of the tens of thousands of files that the police still maintain on Chicago citizens.

A special Cook County grand jury reporting in 1975 stated that all of the individuals and groups infiltrated "at one time or another" were critical of the policies of the mayor of Chicago, the late Richard Daley.

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## STATE DEPARTMENT REPORT ON SIX COUNTRIES DOWNPLAYS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

## U.S. TO CONTINUE ARMS AID TO REPRESSIVE REGIMES

(Washington, D.C.) - The U.S. State Department has recommended that six nations it has found guilty of violating human rights continue to receive American military aid, in direct violation of a new U.S. foreign aid bill.

The State Department's hard-line stance on continued military aid to the reactionary governments of Argentina, Iran, Haiti, the Philippines, Indonesia and Peru came last week as the Department released its first detailed reports on human rights conditions abroad. The reports were made public by the House International Relations Committee, which requested the reports as an initial test of compliance with a new congressional law requiring such human rights reports from the State Department when asked for by any member of Congress, the *New York Times* reported.

Outgoing U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger last year refused to honor an earlier congressional law making it mandatory for the State Department to make a country-by-country report on human rights violations as a means of judging whether U.S. foreign aid should be granted.

The new foreign aid bill states that it is not American policy to provide military aid to governments that engage in "a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights," except in unusual circumstances.

An attempt by the State Department to keep the human rights reports secret was thwarted by the International Relations Committee.

Included in the State Department reports is the following:

• **Argentina** — Both the previous and present military government have violated the human rights of Argentinian citizens by utilizing torture, cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment, particularly to obtain information from political prisoners. Under the State of Siege Law, which allows the government to detain persons for questioning, there is no right of habeas corpus (trial or release) in Argentina.

The State Department report alleges that the U.S. "repeatedly" raised the subject of human rights with Argentina in 1976. The right-wing government presently receives \$48.4 million in military sales credits and nearly \$700,000 in direct grants for training from the U.S.

*Part of the military arsenal the U.S. supplies to foreign regimes. The U.S., the largest arms dealer in the world, is planning to continue its military aid to repressive regimes that openly violate human rights.*



The State Department report justifies continued aid to Argentina on the grounds that it will provide America "the possibility of improved communication with the Argentine military who have always influenced events in their country and are now the dominant sector."

• **Iran** — "While we have no verifiable evidence of the use of torture, . . ." the widespread reports of political terrorism in Iran cannot be discounted, the State Department report notes. There are between 2,800 to 3,000

Iranians — sometimes referred to as "political prisoners" — currently in detention. The Iranian regime utilizes crimes of violence in cases involving alleged "state security," as well as detention without initial charges and lengthy pretrial confinement.

U.S. military aid to Iran is expected to total \$1.2 billion during the coming fiscal year. The State Department insists that this aid must continue since Iran's strength is vital to American interests due to its long border with the Soviet Union and

its role as a major source of oil to the U.S.

• **Haiti** — Despite some improvement in the political atmosphere since 1971, the State Department concludes that "the government in Haiti remains basically authoritarian." Haiti's prisoners have one of the highest death rates in the world. Persons considered security risks are subject to arrest and detention without trial.

The U.S. withdrew military aid to Haiti in 1963 but initiated a

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25

## Lack Of Latinos In Carter Cabinet Breeds Resentment

(Washington, D.C.) — The only Spanish-speaking member of Jimmy Carter's "talent-hunting" team for Cabinet and chief advisory appointments charged last week that there is widespread resentment among Hispanic people that none of the President-elect's top picks have gone to a Latino.

Henry Lacayo, who said he was going back to his job as administrative assistant to United Auto Workers' President Leonard Woodcock, said, "There's been a letdown in the community" regarding Carter's failure to select a Spanish-speaking person to a top post.

"We were the margin of victory in Texas, New York and Ohio. Even where the state went Republican, as in California, Chicano districts were from 70 to 82 per cent Democratic."

Joe Bernal, an aide to Lacayo at Carter transition headquarters,

said simply, "We're frustrated."

Both he and Lacayo blamed a lack of communications among Chicanos in the Southwest, Cuban-Americans in Florida and Puerto Ricans in New York for the failure to match Black appointments in the new administration.



Said Manuel Fierro, president of the National Congress of Hispanic American Citizens, to the *Los Angeles Times*: "For all the work we've done, we've got

nothing to show. Carter spoke Spanish in election commercials, but what is he saying to us now?"

Meanwhile, Secretary of State-designate Cyrus Vance is putting together a staff that depends heavily on key aides of his predecessor, Henry Kissinger.

With his inner circle nearly complete, Vance has selected four of Kissinger's chief advisors to stay on: William Schauffle, assistant secretary for Africa; Philip Habib, under-secretary for political affairs; Roy Atherton, assistant secretary for the Middle East; and Arthur Hartman, assistant secretary for Europe.

Also, acting on Vance's advice, Carter has named Warren Christopher, a Los Angeles attorney, to be deputy secretary of state. Christopher worked with Vance in "overseeing" U.S. troop activities to crush the Black rebellion in Detroit in 1967.



# ...And Bid Him Sing

By David G. Du Bois

## Exciting Novel Examines Lives Of Black Americans In Egypt

This week's portion of ...And Bid Him Sing features journalist Bob Jones, one of few Americans allowed to remain in Cairo, Egypt, at the outbreak of the 1967 Middle East war. Bob's fellow Black American friends, self-exiles in Cairo, are not so fortunate and are preparing to be evacuated.

### PART 61

I had not sent the telegram to Nasser as Suliman had demanded the night before. But I had called a friend at his home in a bid to get word to the Minister of Culture. He was the managing editor of the magazine that had printed Suliman's poem. He was not encouraging. He didn't know if the minister would be in his office at all and didn't want to try to reach him by phone on such an individual and delicate matter.

From Mursy's office I went to my own, to learn that my boss had been trying to reach me by phone late the night before to tell me they'd agreed to take my name off their list of those to be evacuated. I was to stay in my apartment until the evacuation was completed. He'd been furious because I wasn't at home. Fortunately for me he had gone out early with a group of correspondents in the hope of seeing and photographing some of the damage caused by the bombing of the day before. I left immediately and headed for the Nile Hotel.

On the way an air-raid alert compelled the taxi I was in to pull over to the curb. The driver and I remained in the taxi waiting for the all-clear. After a bit, hearing no planes and only faint reports of anti-aircraft fire, I paid the driver, left the taxi and continued on foot. During the day pedestrians generally ignored the alerts, unless the firing was overhead or enemy planes were visible. The all-clear sounded just before I reached the hotel.

The lobby was crowded and noisy. Apparently the evacuee-guests had left their rooms during the alert and been herded into the main lobby. They now seemed reluctant to return to their rooms. I moved through the lobby into the lounge, looking for Suliman. I caught sight of Ibrahim seated alone in a corner of a sofa and at one side of the lounge.

"Hey, brother," he said, getting up and taking my hand,

surprise slowly registering on his face. "I thought you was staying. What you doin' here?"

"I am. Just came to see what's happening with Suliman. My boss got my name off the list. Have you seen Suliman?"

"Man, when I saw that cat he was storming through the lobby behind some police officer. They left. Don't know where they went. But the brother sure looked burned up."

"Have you seen Mika?"

"Yeah. She's here. But I don't know where now. Everybody's got rooms. You can check her out at the desk."

"What about Kamal?"

"The cat's not showed up yet. Neither has Abdel Hamid. I think those cats are trying to beat this rap; hide out or something until the boats leave. Thought about it myself. But then I figured that if I got caught it would fuck me up with the Egyptians. This way, when the shit's over I can come back."

### CHANCE TO TALK

"Did you get a chance to talk with Suliman?"

"Naw, man. That cat was out of sight since I been here. Say Mika when I came. She told me he was with some heavy cat from Nasser's office, pleadin' with 'em to let him stay. Only time I saw him was when he left with that police officer 'bout a half hour ago."



Palestinian guerrillas are in the forefront of the struggle against Zionist aggression in the Middle East.



"I'm going to try to find Mika," I said. "If Suliman shows tell him I'm here. Okay?"

"Yeah."

I headed out of the lounge toward the reception desk. On the way I met a uniformed youngster moving through the lobby toward the lounge, holding aloft a small slate on which was written in chalk "Suliman Ibn Rashid." A small bell atop the slate tinkled softly but distinctly. I stopped him and he told me there was a telephone call for Suliman at the main desk. I proceeded to the desk and explained that Suliman was not in the hotel and that I would take the call. It was Fawzy.

"Ahtan, ya Fawzy," I said. "This is Bob."

In a voice tense and anxious Fawzy almost shouted: "I was calling you all day yesterday and this morning! Are you leaving

too? I heard all Americans are leaving! Are you leaving too?"

"No, I'm not. But Suliman may. He's trying to stay. He's with some people now that're working on it."

"I heard the Americans were at this hotel. Thought I'd try to see if I could get ahold of somebody. Didn't expect to get you, though. How come Suliman's got to leave? He's with us! He sure must be angry. Is there anything I can do?"

"No. Because everybody's got to go — all Americans. Ibrahim, Kamal and everybody else is here."

"But why?" He sounded genuinely puzzled. "All of you are with us! Even wanted to fight. Why should they have to leave?!"

### TELEPHONE

"We can't talk about it on the telephone," I cautioned. "But they're leaving for Alex at six this evening. I'll be home after that. Come by if you can. Okay?"

"Yeah. Listen — how can I see Suliman and the rest before they go? Can I come there?"

"No. Don't try. I'll tell Suliman and the others you called to say goodbye. If Suliman manages to stay he'll probably be at my place when you get there this evening. In any case, don't worry. There's nothing you can do."

"Okay." And after a pause: "Yemphkin Rabinah aise keda (Perhaps God wants it thus!)," he reasoned. "I'll be at your place at around seven. Okay?"

"Okay. So long." I hung up and asked the desk clerk for Mika's room number. After some time he found her name on the much-handled list and gave me the number. I telephoned to find her in and we agreed to meet in the tenth-floor bar in fifteen minutes.

TO BE CONTINUED



...AND BID HIM SING

An exciting novel of Black Americans living in Egypt in the 1960s

By BLACK PANTHER Intercommunal News Service Editor-in-Chief DAVID G. DU BOIS

David G. Du Bois' first novel makes a new space on the slim shelf labelled Black expatriate fiction. This frighteningly accurate characterization of Ugly Afro-Americans in Africa is a sobering reminder of the special cultural baggage and blinders we carry home. In this case home is Cairo, Egypt. In And Bid Him Sing, David Du Bois has given us a picture of our selves through the eyes of another Black culture and understanding.

Those of us who are planning to visit or live in Africa should see And Bid Him Sing as a kind of guide to bad manners abroad. And we who are ready to nostalgize the sixties would do well to read and recognize some parts of all of ourselves who grew so quickly and changed our race before we could change our minds."

Francis Russel Wilson  
The Black Scholar

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# REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

By Huey P. Newton  
"TRIAL"

We continue with the chapter "Trial" from *Revolutionary Suicide* by Black Panther Party leader and chief theoretician Huey P. Newton as defense witnesses are fully exposing the racist nature of Oakland police officer John Frey. Frey lost his life in an unlawful attack on Huey Newton on October 28, 1967, setting the stage for Huey's famed 1968 trial on false murder charges, when cries of "Free Huey" swirled across the country.

## PART 82

When the prosecution rested its case, Charles Garry, on the morning of August 19, moved for another mistrial. He based his motion on the fact that it was impossible for me to receive a fair trial in Oakland because of the atmosphere of hatred, violence, and controversy. As proof of this, he read to the court samples of hate mail that he and I had been receiving.

One of the letters was from four retired marines who said they had known Frey. The letter stated that neither Garry nor I would be alive ten days after the trial was over, no matter what the verdict. Another letter was signed "KKK" and read:

Nigger Lover:

"I guess you feel that the murdering coon's gonna get off because the jury and witnesses have all been intimidated to the extent that no one dares convict. I hope he will be gunned down in the streets by some friends of the poor policeman he killed. The Black Panthers parade all over the place and I don't see why the KKK and American Nazi Parties couldn't do the same. It is supposed to be a free country for everybody. It is too bad we ever stopped lynching. At least the damn niggers knew their place in those days and didn't cause any trouble. I remember reading about one time they strung up some coons and pulled out pieces of their flesh with corkscrews. That must have been a lot of fun. I wish I had been there to take part in the good work. I hope this race war that we are having starts right away. We outnumber the blacks ten to one, so we know who will win. And a lot of damn nigger lovers will be laying right there beside them. I wish Hitler had won and then we could have kicked off the shinnies and started in on the coons."

KKK

Garry's request for a mistrial was denied by Judge Friedman, who refused to acknowledge that I was receiving anything but a fair trial. He felt the letters were negligible and unimportant.

After this, Garry opened the defense and began on the morning of August 19 to show the jury where the truth lay. He introduced a group of witnesses who were essential to those political aspects of the case that we had been so determined to explore

from the beginning. These were people from the Black community — ordinary, honest working people — who could testify with sincerity and conviction about how their lives were frequently made difficult by the occupying army of racist police.

These people described being stopped, questioned, bullied, pushed around, and insulted for no reason other than the sadistic whim of some southern cracker who hated Blacks. These were people brutalized by intruders in their own community. All had one thing in common: encounters with Officer John Frey.

Daniel King, sixteen, related on the stand how he had met Frey around four o'clock one morning

in West Oakland, where he was visiting his sister. They had gone out to get something to eat on Seventh Street, and there, incredibly enough, had encountered a White man with no pants on. He was with Frey. Frey told King he was violating curfew, and the White man accused him of knowing the girl who had taken his pants.

When King denied this, both Frey and the White man called him "nigger," "pimp," and other "dirty words." Frey had held King while the White man hit him. Then he put him in a paddy wagon and took him to Juvenile Hall where he spent the rest of the night. Frey did not even bother to call King's par-




Tremendous support is shown for Huey P. Newton at 1968 San Francisco rally.

## REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

"Jail is an odd place to find freedom, but  
that was the place I first found mine"

### Huey P. Newton



With power and passion, the co-founder of the Black Panther Party tells his life story. Here is the dynamic account of the making of a revolutionary. Boyhood amid a deeply religious and loving family. Adolescence as thief, hustler, ghetto-survivor. Murder trial for the death of a policeman — a cause celebre that inspired the militant cry "Free Huey." Conviction, imprisonment. And final exonerated. Huey P. Newton's autobiography "In a most moving sense is a testament to the Black American's pain and dilemma in the 1970s." — Publishers Weekly

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Harcourt Brace Jovanovich

ents.

Luther Smith, Sr., who worked with a youth organization in Oakland, told of a number of run-ins with Frey. He testified that Frey was "awful mean" and had used racial epithets when talking to him. Frey had called Smith's brother a "little Black nigger" and his son's wife a "Black bitch."

Belford Dunning, an employee of the Prudential Life Insurance Company, described an encounter with Frey the day before he died. When Frey pushed Dunning around while he was given a ticket by another policeman for a minor violation on his car, Dunning had said to him, "What's the matter with you? You act like you're the Gestapo or something." Frey's hand went to his revolver. "I am the Gestapo," he said.

TO BE CONTINUED



# ELAINE BROWN, ERICKA HUGGINS HIGHLIGHT SUCCESSFUL BENEFIT FOR B.P.P. LAWSUIT

(Berkeley, Calif.) - A sharp and penetrating speech by Black Panther Party chairperson Elaine Brown and a moving poetry recital by Oakland Community School Director Ericka Huggins, also a leading Party member, highlighted a successful benefit for the recently filed Black Panther Party lawsuit held at the Pacific School of Religion here last Tuesday evening. Although featured guest speaker Father Daniel Berrigan was unfortunately unable to attend, an audience of some 200 people was left far from disappointed.

The evening began, in fact, as Rev. Gustav Schultz, pastor of the Universal Lutheran Chapel in Berkeley, explained Father Berrigan's absence, playing a tape that had been made over the telephone the night before. On that tape, Father Berrigan, in his very gracious manner, said that his sister-in-law, Elizabeth MacAllister Berrigan, was to be sentenced to six months in jail the following day, January 12, the sentence of "a savage judge" for her participation in a civil disobedience protest at the Pentagon in late December.



ERICKA HUGGINS

Father Berrigan also made a stirring statement of support for the Black Panther Party, which said (in part):

"I feel that... the same injustice and repression that is trying to break our backs (in Baltimore and Washington, D.C.) is operating against the Panthers in Oakland. It was for that reason that I wanted to be there—for the sake of Huey Newton, Ericka, all the others, and that beautiful community school. I think that one of the most important lawsuits now before the courts is the Panther lawsuit against the FBI. I want to support that with all my heart."

"I think that we can begin to see the unity of all these efforts of conscience and of common struggle against enormous cultural and political repression. A night of poetry is a beautiful way to express that."

Following the tape, Ericka Huggins read several of her own and Huey P. Newton's writings, taken from their book, *Insights and Poems*. An excerpt from one of the beautiful, flowing poems, entitled "For Huey" and written on Huey P. Newton's birthday in 1970 while Ericka was in prison, seemingly



ELAINE BROWN

anticipated Elaine's speech, which was to follow:

*"... nothing remains  
stagnant the  
world/the natural  
world/is in a state  
of constant revolution  
and what is natural  
is good  
and if it is good  
to be in revolt  
against stagnation  
it is natural to  
be a  
revolutionary  
... and you are...  
and many are  
because of you..."*

In her far-ranging and informative address, Elaine touched upon many points of people's struggle, emphasizing throughout her speech—which focused upon a brief history of the Black Panther Party and the Party's lawsuit—that the bottom line for the Black Panther Party has always been "the human right to life itself."

Speaking for close to 30 minutes, you could see that Elaine's speech touched her audience, sometimes bringing laughter, sometimes moving a few to tears. (Note: Elaine dealt with many topics during her speech; far too many, and far too eloquently, in fact, to present only small excerpts from her address. See next week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER for a more in-depth review of Elaine Brown's speech at the Pacific School of Religion.)

In summarizing the significance of the early history of the Black Panther Party, Elaine warned the audience not to become too involved in the "gory details," recalling one time when Huey Newton was on the David Frost show that he was asked to detail the "numbers of Panthers killed and how they were killed." Huey, Elaine said, reminded Frost of the 50 million Black people killed in the crossing; of the many Native Americans killed in the founding of this country; of the wars of aggression; of the many people of all nationalities and ethnic groups who "died from things like hunger and disease and other ills this society could do better about."

"When you wrap up all those numbers, you have to say, why haven't we done something before now. That really is the purpose of the Black Panther Party—(as she said at a later point, "because we knew that we were part of a people that didn't deserve to live that way, simply because we're human beings")—and, of course, that was really the purpose behind the attempts to quiet and to crush the Black Panther Party." (Again, at a later point, while discussing the Party's Survival Programs, Elaine commented, "What the Black Panther Party has been all along is that kind of organization that has made concrete examples, very often using our very lives.")

Concerning Party leader and founder Huey P. Newton, Elaine said: "Huey is in Cuba now, in exile, and we intend that he will be back here before the end of this year, 1977. Come hell or high water as they say, we mean for that to happen."

"We think that Huey's return is important, not only for the Black Panther Party, not only for the question of proving his innocence in a court of law, but most importantly to begin to provide a leadership that is absent in this country... We think that there is a need for Huey P. Newton, and a need for him to return to this country, to clear up a number of issues; to continue to serve as the active leader of the Black Panther Party and for the Black Panther Party to begin to build up its force as a vanguard organization moving toward complete revolution in this country. We haven't forgotten anything. And certainly the fact that we shed blood is only a reminder that we haven't forgotten, because so many others have also shed blood..."

Toward the end of her speech, Elaine said, concerning the Party's lawsuit and what people can do to support the Black Panther Party's efforts:

"What this lawsuit can do is to present one more idea in the minds of massive numbers of people, if you will help to get that information out to them. You can help us dig up this information to get out to other people who don't know or can't imagine that it isn't just the Panthers, but it (the repression) certainly could have happened to all of us. That is the significance of the Black Panther Party lawsuit." □



# Summary Of \$100 Million B.P.P. Lawsuit Against F.B.I., C.I.A. And I.R.S.

As a service to our readers, *THE BLACK PANTHER* presents a summary of the historic \$100 million class action lawsuit filed by the Black Panther Party on December 1, 1976, against 21 past and present high-ranking officials of the FBI, CIA, IRS (Internal Revenue Service) and other government agencies for their illegal and systematic efforts to destroy the Party since 1967. Previous issues of the newspaper have discussed the lawsuit in detail.

## HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The lawsuit begins with a brief history of the conspiracy carried out by federal agencies against the BPP since the formation of the FBI COINTELPRO (Counterintelligence Program) in 1967 to "expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit or otherwise neutralize the activities of Black nationalists."

A major objective of the COINTELPRO operation was to prevent the rise of a Black "messiah" who might "unify and electrify" Black people. The secret FBI memorandum establishing COINTELPRO named Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., as a potential "messiah." However, the lawsuit notes, following Dr. King's assassination on April 4, 1968, "the FBI shifted its focus to the Party and its leadership, particularly Huey P. Newton, in conformity with then Director J. Edgar Hoover's public pronouncement that the Party constituted 'the greatest threat to the internal security of the country.'"

COINTELPRO undertook 295 actions alone to disrupt Black groups, 233 of which were specifically directed against the Black Panther Party.

In early 1969, following the election of Richard Nixon as President, the "Huston Plan," named after its author-coordinator Tom Charles Huston, was put into operation. The Huston Plan, approved by Hoover, former CIA Director Helms, the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) and the National Security Agency (NSA), according to the lawsuit, "spelled out the means by which defendants and their agents intended to destroy the plaintiff Party."

## HARASSMENT AND ASSASSINATION OF PARTY MEMBERS

From 1968 to the present, the suit maintains, the FBI, CIA, IRS and other federal agencies have "engaged in unlawful mail opening, interception of telephone and other conversations and physical surveillance of Party leaders, members and supporters." Planned armed raids by local police departments on offices and homes of BPP members across the country are also cited as examples of the federal harassment carried out against the Party.

Party founder and leader Huey P. Newton has been the victim of continued harassment and persecution by federal agencies since the inception of the BPP in October, 1966. The lawsuit notes that because of the illegal activities directed against Newton, he "is presently residing outside the jurisdiction of the United States until it is safe for him to return."

This portion of the lawsuit also discusses the assassinations of Illinois Black Panther Party

leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in a predawn raid in Chicago on December 4, 1969, and the role of FBI agent-provocateur William O'Neal in their deaths.

## INCITING AND CAUSING VIOLENCE BY OTHERS AGAINST PARTY MEMBERS

In November, 1968, Hoover issued a directive to 14 FBI field offices across the country to "submit imaginative and hard-hitting counterintelligence measures aimed at crippling the Black Panther Party... in order to fully capitalize upon Party and US (United States, a Los Angeles-based Black nationalist group) differences."

The lawsuit discusses the January 17, 1969, assassinations of Los Angeles BPP leaders Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter and John Huggins by an alleged US member at the University of California — an act "defendants



HUEY P. NEWTON

assisted in and promoted," the lawsuit charges.

This section of the lawsuit also describes the May 23, and August 4, 1969, assassinations of San Diego BPP members John Savage and Sylvester Bell, respectively, both killed by alleged US members: an order by Hoover for FBI field offices to draw and mail cartoons depicting Party leaders in a derogatory manner and to make the cartoons look as if they were initiated by US; and, in 1968 and 1969, the FBI's forging of anonymous, threatening letters to the leadership of the Chicago BPP and the Blackstone Rangers (now the P-Stone Nation) to promote violence between the two Chicago groups.

## USE OF AGENTS AND INFORMANTS TO DISCREDIT THE PARTY BY URGING AND COMMITTING VIOLENCE IN ITS NAME

In 1969, the lawsuit states, "an experienced operative or undercover agent" was placed by federal authorities in the New Haven, Connecticut, Chapter of the BPP "for the purpose of persuading... Party members... to commit unlawful... actions... that would damage and discredit the Party..." The operative subsequently accused an innocent Party member, Alex Rackley, of being a

"police agent," and led and participated in Rackley's torture-murder.

Subsequently, the agent-provocateur falsely testified against leading Party member Ericka Huggins and former Party member Bobby Seale, both of whom were imprisoned for nearly two years prior to being cleared of murder-conspiracy charges in Rackley's death.

## SABOTAGING AND DISCREDITING OF CONSTRUCTIVE PARTY PROGRAMS

In a May, 1969, memo sent to over two dozen FBI offices, Hoover said the Black Panther Party's Free Breakfast for Schoolchildren Program represented "the best and most influential activity going for the BPP and as such is potentially the greatest threat to efforts by authorities to neutralize the BPP and destroy what it stands for."

Intent on "destroying the popular Free Breakfast Program, the FBI obtained a comic book drawn by an alleged Party member in which policemen were illustrated as pigs. Although Party leadership rejected the publication, the FBI sent copies of it to merchants and businessmen who contributed to the Breakfast Program as well as the media, who were told that the comic books were distributed to children at the Free Breakfast Program. As a result, a Catholic priest in San Diego, California, who allowed his church to be used for the Breakfast Program, was removed from his post.

Another BPP program mentioned in the lawsuit that federal agencies have attempted to discredit and destroy is the Sickle Cell Anemia Program.

## SUPPRESSING FREE EXPRESSION AND MISREPRESENTING THE PARTY

Fearing the popular influence and organizing ability of the Black Panther Party, federal officials, or agents acting at their direction, have contacted colleges, universities and other institutions where BPP members were asked to speak and urged them to cancel the engagements. Often the agencies threatened the institutions, via anonymous telephone calls, with violence if Party members were allowed to speak.

The federal government also sought to suppress the Party's right to free expression by sabotaging the local distribution offices and destroying several shipments of *THE BLACK PANTHER*, the weekly, nationally distributed official organ of the Black Panther Party. The lawsuit points out that the U.S. Post Office charged higher postage rates for mailing paid subscriptions for *THE BLACK PANTHER* than that charged similar publications.

The remainder of the lawsuit includes a discussion on other general harassment of BPP members and supporters and the numerous violations of the Constitutional rights of Black Panther Party members and their supporters, including infringing on the right of due process and equal protection under the law and freedom from unreasonable governmental invasions and other violations of personal privacy.





# THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

## MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

### WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

#### 1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

#### 2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

#### 3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

#### 4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

#### 5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

#### 6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventative medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

#### 7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor

people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

#### 8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

#### 9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND POOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

#### 10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.



## Intercommunal News

## OIL SPILLS EXPOSE

## "Flag Of Convenience" Ships Creating High Seas Havoc

(Hong Kong) — Behind the recent rash of oil tanker accidents in U.S. waters lies a system of shipping registration that has given the tiny African nation of Liberia the largest merchant fleet in the world — and that may be a significant cause of accidents at sea.

Liberia, with 2,300 merchant ships, along with Panama and a few other small nations — including the African landlocked country of Chad — flies a "flag of convenience." Ship owners from around the world register fleets there to escape the taxes, union wage scales and often strict regulations and inspections in their home countries.

Three-quarters of the Liberian ships are Greek or American — owned. And some of the best ships in the world, including those of almost every major U.S. oil company, are among them.

While the tax haven aspect is an obvious break, the real reason for the "flags of convenience" is CONTINUED ON PAGE 26

## FRONTLINE STATES DECLARE FULL SUPPORT FOR PATRIOTIC FRONT

(Lusaka, Zambia) — In a major victory for the armed liberation struggle in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), the five frontline states in southern Africa last weekend gave their unqualified support to the Patriotic Front — the progressive political and military alliance that is coordinating the fight for Black majority rule.

The decision followed a specially convened summit meeting here of officials of the frontline states, Presidents Samora Machel of Mozambique, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Vice President Quett Masire of Botswana and roving Angolan ambassador Pasqual Luvuala.

President Nyerere, chairperson of the frontline states — which provide financial and other aid to the Zimbabwean liberation struggle — said concerning the decision of the frontline states, "We have decided to give full political, material and diplomatic support to the Patriotic Front to enable that Front to realign the objectives of the (Zimbabwean) struggle."

The Patriotic Front was formed in October of last year — shortly before the Geneva talks on Black majority rule in Zimbabwe convened — by Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) Secretary-General Robert Mugabe and Zimbabwe African Political Union (ZAPU) leader Joshua Nkomo. ZANU, the vanguard revolutionary organization in Zimbabwe, initiated the armed liberation



Armed Zimbabwean guerrillas. Regarding the frontline states endorsement of the Patriotic Front (ZANU and ZAPU), Tanzanian President Nyerere said, "We have been supporting the freedom fighters and naturally we support the political leaders of the freedom fighters."

struggle in 1966.

Throughout the stalemated Geneva talks, the Patriotic Front has consistently demanded that Blacks control the interim government that would rule Zimbabwe prior to official independence.

The Front's position is diametrically opposed to that of the White minority government of Rhodesia, headed by "Prime Minister" Ian Smith. The Smith regime has refused to negotiate on anything other than the proposals worked out by outgoing U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger last spring during his "shuttle diplomacy" venture in

southern Africa.

Under terms of the Kissinger proposals, a two-tiered, White-dominated transitional government would rule Zimbabwe, with crucial control of the police and military forces going to the Whites. Also, under this plan, majority rule would not take place for two years.

The Patriotic Front, backed by the presidents of the frontline states, has repeatedly denounced the Kissinger proposals. The Front insists that Zimbabwe's independence be established by December of this year.

When asked if the frontline nations' decision to back the Patriotic Front is tantamount to a rejection of moderate Zimbabwean nationalist groups such as the African National Council (ANC) headed by Bishop Abel Muzorewa, President Nyerere said, "Their importance will have to be measured in the struggle."

"We are recognizing a fact," he added. "We have been supporting the freedom fighters and naturally we support the political leaders of the freedom fighters." ZANU's Mugabe serves as political commissar of the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA), the Zimbabwean military forces who are fighting the Smith regime.

In other news in Zimbabwe, ZIPA forces last week shot down a Rhodesian military transport plane, killing three soldiers. Two other persons were injured when the Douglas Dakota plane crashed.



Due to "flag of convenience" registration, Liberia (flag above) has the largest merchant fleet in the world, including several super-tankers.

## THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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POLISARIO liberation forces are fighting to block the partitioning of the Spanish Sahara by Morocco and Mauritania (see map) in order to establish a people's republic in the territory.



INTERVIEW WITH NEW SECRETARY-GENERAL OF POLISARIO FRONT

## STRUGGLE TO LIBERATE SAHARA REPUBLIC MOUNTS

Despite persistent claims that there is no dispute in the Western Sahara region, guerrillas of the Polisario Front continue to launch lightning raids against the enemy troops of Morocco and Mauritania.

Polisario guerrillas have attacked deep into both Morocco and Mauritania, in opposition to the two northwest African countries who have partitioned the former Spanish Sahara colony against the wishes of the region's people. Polisario has already proclaimed an independent Saharan Republic with a government-in-exile based in southern Algeria.

Following, *THE BLACK PANTHER* presents an interview with Mahfoud Laroussi, the newly elected secretary-general of the Polisario Front, who succeeded Fayid El Ouali, killed in mid-June during an attack on the capital city of Mauritania.

**QUESTION:** Mr. Secretary-General, for Morocco and Mauritania, the question of the Western Sahara is a closed affair.

**LAROUSSI:** These two countries are the invaders, and are using the arguments of invaders. It is true, the Moroccan forces occupy two cities, El Aaiun and Smara, and a few smaller localities. They have even reached

Mauritania, occupying Bir Moghrein, Noudhibou and Nouakehott. Everywhere else, however, they do not have the military situation in hand. The actions of our popular army are more effective every day. There is no point where we cannot strike.

Concerning the area of diplomacy, the Council of Foreign Ministers of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) on the island of Mauritius, has voted a resolution which favors us, for it recognizes "the inalienable right of the Saharan people to self-determination and national independence." All the maneuvers of

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

## AFRICA IN FOCUS



### Mozambique

The Mozambican Liberation Army recently counterattacked troops of the White minority government of Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) which invaded Mozambique's Chitanga region and Manica Province with war planes and napalm bombs in late December. In an earlier attack made in mid-December, Rhodesian forces attacked the same areas, killing eight and wounding 10 Mozambicans, the *Mozambique Information Agency* reports. The Rhodesian government made at least seven such illegal raids into Mozambique in December.

### O.A.U.

Eteki Mboumoua, administrative secretary-general of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), recently issued a new year's message for 1977 from OAU headquarters in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Concerning the liberation struggles in southern Africa, Mboumoua's message said, "Our main concern is henceforth the liberation of southern Africa." Praising the freedom struggles in Zimbabwe, Namibia (South West Africa) and Azania (South Africa), the OAU official noted that in Azania the people have "...shown their determination to shake off the yoke of an inhuman regime..."

### Botswana

During the 10 years since it became independent of Great Britain, Botswana has made substantial progress in developing its national education, *Hsin-hua* news agency reports. Since 1966, the number of primary schools in the country has increased by nearly 60 per cent, totaling about 400 at present. The number of primary school teachers has increased by 4,000 or 140 per cent and primary enrollment by 126,000 or 76 per cent.

### Tanzania

The National Union of Tanganyika Workers (NUTW) recently condemned the White minority government of Rhodesia for arresting 900 Tanzanian mass transport workers in Salisbury, Rhodesia, on Christmas Eve of last year. The NUTW statement pledged total support for the Zimbabwean workers struggling for their freedom.

## Eritreans To Sponsor Benefit For Medical Supplies

(Berkeley, Calif.) - The Eritrean Relief Committee will sponsor a benefit here on Wednesday, January 19, at La Pena Cultural Center, 3105 Shattuck Avenue, to raise funds to ship over 10,000 pounds of donated medicines and supplies to Eritrea.

The benefit, to begin at 7 p.m., will feature a speech on the present refugee situation in Eritrea; a 1976 film depicting conditions in Eritrea, which has been engaged in an armed liberation struggle against Ethiopia since 1952; a display of photographs and Eritrean art work; a cultural show on different Eritrean nationalities; and a raffle drawing, with 10 prizes. Admission to the program is \$2.00, and raffle tickets are \$.50.

The 10,000 pounds of donated medicines are desperately needed by the over 150,000 Eritreans forced by war to flee to neighboring Sudan and the 350,000 people remaining in Eritrea who have been forced to leave their



Eritrean liberation forces, composed of both men and women, is nearing victory against the repressive Ethiopian government.

homes and live in the bush as the result of Ethiopian air raids.

In Eritrea, reports *Eritrea In Struggle* - the official newsletter of Eritreans For Liberation in North America (EFLNA) - the northeastern province of Sahel's capital city, Naefa, is under siege by the Eritrean People's Liberation Forces (EPLF). The largest

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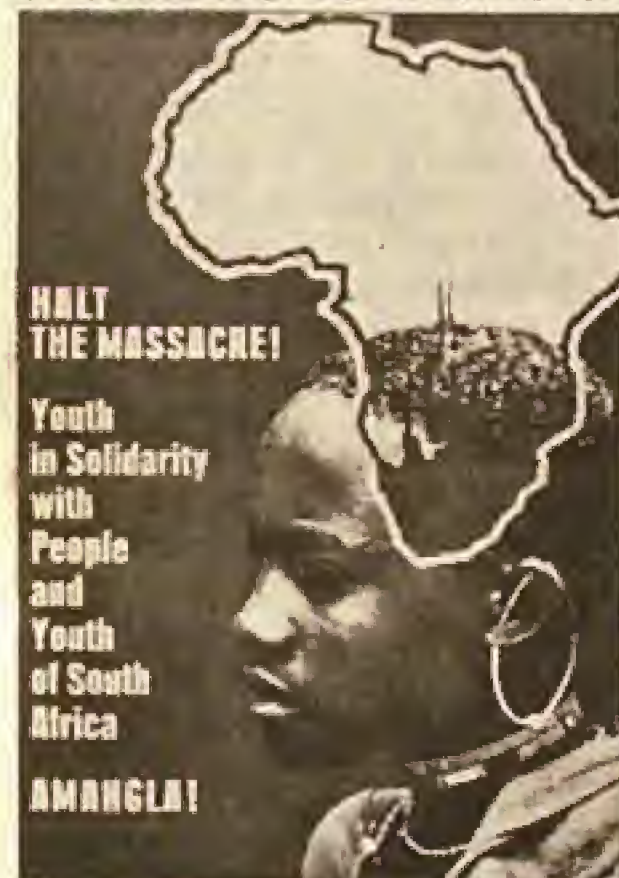


## Soweto School Boycott Continues

(Johannesburg, South Africa) - Student attendance was poor in Soweto "township" and the Black communities near Cape Town as schools reopened last week in these areas for the first time in six months.

A widespread student boycott has kept Black schools in Azania (South Africa) shut down since the initial Black uprising in Soweto in June of last year. Organized by the Soweto Students Representative Council, the protest originated over student opposition to instruction in the hated Dutch Afrikaans language, the language spoken by the ruling White Boers.

The government has rescheduled final examinations for



*The Azanian student movement is gaining worldwide support. In Soweto, Black students are heightening their resistance.*

graduating high school students for later this month and early February. However, the Soweto Students Representative Council, which also organized a very successful Christmas boycott last year in the Black "township" of over one million people, views the examinations as part of the racist educational system imposed upon Black people in the country and is expected to urge students not to take the tests.

In other parts of Azania, schools are not scheduled to open for several weeks.

Meanwhile, White fears of the growing Black resistance to the reactionary South African government has made the White civilian population one of the most heavily armed in the world. In Johannesburg alone, for 4.2 million Whites, there are 1.25 million registered weapons, or a

### OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID EQUATED WITH "TERRORISM"

## S.A.S.O. NINE CONVICTIONS SIGNAL STEPPED-UP REPRESSION IN AZANIA

(Pretoria, South Africa) - Political repression against Black people in Azania (South Africa) is expected to become harsher with the recent convictions here of the SASO 9, a group of Black and Indian political activists found guilty under the Terrorism Act of conspiring to destroy the country's apartheid system.

The ruling by Judge Wessel G. Boshoff in late December was the first time a South African court specifically ruled that opposition to the government and its strict policies of racial segregation constitutes "terrorism," *Pacific News Service* reports.

The widely publicized trial of the SASO 9 — seven young Black men who are members of the South African Students Organization (SASO) and two Indian members of the Black People's Convention (BPC) — was the longest political trial in South African history, lasting 17 months. The Nine were each convicted on two of 13 counts against them. Six of the men were sentenced to 10 years each in prison and the other three men to five years apiece.

The nine activists, held in solitary confinement for over two years, were arrested in September and October, 1974, following several large and enthusiastic rallies held on campuses in Durban and at the University of the North to celebrate the victory



*Zimbabwean people have the full support of southern Africa's five frontline nations.*

of FRELIMO in Mozambique, which had just won its independence from Portugal.

During the rallies, South African police brutally attacked the demonstrating students with clubs and dogs, arbitrarily arresting many people on the spot, *Workers' World* reports. A month-long nationwide police roundup of Black leaders followed.

Jeff Dumo Baqwa, projects director of the South African Student Movement (SASM), who escaped from a village in the recently "independent" Transkei in 1974, noted that the charges and conviction of the SASO 9 are part of the plan of the White minority regime in South Africa

to destroy the Azanian liberation struggle.

"The struggle in South Africa is not against apartheid, the struggle there involves deeper issues — the struggle for power, land and control of the means of production," Baqwa explained.

The SASM official also commented on the appointment of Andrew Young as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations (U.N.). "We are not deluded by the placing of Andrew Young in the U.N.," Baqwa said. "The U.S. has one policy in South Africa, maintenance of U.S. imperialism — and changing faces of ambassadors will not have any substantial effect on the fact," he said. □

### \$777 MILLION IN 1976

## U.S. Banks Prop Up Apartheid In South Africa

(New York, N.Y.) - Major new bank loans totalling at least \$777 million helped to shore up South Africa's White minority regime in 1976.

Some of the United States' largest and most powerful banking concerns are involved — New York Citibank, Chase Manhattan, Morgan Guaranty Trust, Manufacturers Hanover, Orion and Bank of America, *Liberation News Service* reports.

Black liberation groups within South Africa and their supporters in the United States strongly oppose the loans. They maintain that it is precisely this foreign assistance that has allowed the White minority government to remain in power for so long.

In challenging a planned multi-million dollar Citibank loan, an American Committee on Africa spokesperson commented recently that, "Particularly at this time, the loan can only be

interpreted as an attempt to bolster the South African regime when it is being pressed for fundamental change from inside."

U.S. banks and their overseas branches currently have some \$2 billion in loans to South Africa, according to Senator Richard Clark, chairman of the Subcommittee on African Affairs. South Africa has been borrowing increasingly large sums from private banking institutions. In 1975, the figure jumped to \$1.8 billion from just under \$1 billion in 1974. And in 1976, the figure is expected to jump again with a large portion of it coming from the United States.

Most of the loans made by U.S. banks in 1976 were for South African government corporations involved in specific development projects. The largest single U.S. loan was made to the Electrical Supply Commission (ESCOM), a



*Oppressed Azanian youth.*

government corporation supplying most of the country's electrical power. ESCOM's current

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## Witnesses Intimidated At Fred Hampton Murder Trial

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

O'Neal appeared at my home unannounced, on a Saturday afternoon and began to talk to me about the trial which had begun in Chicago.

"6. That, on that day, O'Neal asked me if I was going to testify in the Hampton trial. He talked about testifying at some length. He told me, 'Whatever you do, make sure you're on the winning side.' Referring to himself, the FBI, and the government, he said, 'We're the winning team, you know that.' He said, 'If you do testify, make sure you don't mention anything we did,' referring to certain episodes from Panther Party days.

"7. That the same day O'Neal asked me to get in touch with Nathaniel Junior. I did so and the three of us met together. He also asked Nathaniel if he was going to testify in the trial.

"8. That I next heard from O'Neal by telephone on November 30, 1976. He told me he had taken the witness stand in the trial. He said he didn't see my name on the witness list in the trial, and that that was good, and that it was in my best interest that I was not going to testify. He said, 'I see Nate (on the witness list). I need to know what Nate is going to say.' Nate is Nathaniel Junior. O'Neal said, 'If Nate is going to testify, I want you to tell him not to mention my visit out



Fallen Comrade FRED HAMPTON.

there.'

"9. That, thereafter, on December 15, 1976, in the morning, I was visited at my job, and called out of a meeting for an interview, by John P. Coghlan and Michael Connally, who showed me his badge. Coghlan said Jeffrey Haas (an attorney for the Hampton-Clark families) had said I was going to testify and that he (Coghlan) couldn't believe that I was going to say those things.

"10. I told Coghlan I did not plan to testify. He asked me to sign a statement to that effect and I refused. I told him I was afraid I would lose my job just from him visiting me. I told him that he was greatly intimidating me just by being there.

"11. That I was greatly frightened and upset by this visit, both because I was afraid his visit would affect my job, and because I feared for the safety of my family. I wanted to keep them away from me, my job and my family. I was afraid what they might do, or what O'Neal or others might do if it were known that I was going to testify. I do intend to testify."

Meanwhile, at the trial, which recently resumed following the holiday season recess, attorneys for the plaintiffs were rebuffed by presiding judge Sam Joseph Perry in their attempts to change the order of their witness list so as to call Bruce and Junior to the stand as soon as possible.

## WORLD SCOPE



### China

As a result of continued political unrest linked to supporters of Chiang Ching, the widow of Mao Tse-tung, and three other radical former Politburo members recently purged from the Chinese Communist Party, China's leaders last week imposed military authority over a key railroad junction in north China, according to a provincial radio broadcast. The *New York Times* reports that Kuo Wei-cheng, the deputy commander of the army's Railway Corps, has been appointed party chief of the railroad bureau in Chengchow, which sits at the junction of the system's main north-south and east-west lines. Chengchow has in the past been the scene of considerable turmoil as a result of the resistance by local supporters of the four Chinese radicals to the official provincial leadership.

### Saudi Arabia

Saudi Arabia's multibillion dollar arms purchases from the United States have expanded to include some of the most advanced weapons such as ship-to-shore or ship-to-ship missiles, high speed laser-guided bombs and antiradar missiles. The U.S. will provide "technical assistance" along with a major increase in arms sales to this strategic, oil-rich Middle East country — part of a Saudi five-year plan extending through 1980 with purchases amounting to \$3 billion, mostly from American defense contractors.

### Occupied Palestine

Israeli jailers are force-feeding about 370 hunger-striking Arab prisoners from Israeli-occupied Palestinian territories. Wives, sisters and mothers of the prisoners protested vehemently last week in the Israeli-occupied city of Gaza, demanding visits with the Palestinian prisoners in Ashkelen prison near the Gaza Strip, who were entering the fourth week of their protest over intolerable conditions. A delegation led by Gaza Mayor Rashid al-Shawa inspected the prison and reported that "they (the prisoners) are kept 16 men to a cell and are locked up 22 hours a day. They sleep on the floor and have few winter clothes."

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## ENTERTAINMENT

TAUNT, SUSPENSEFUL, SUPERB BOOK BY DONALD FREED

# "THE KILLING OF R.F.K.": PROGRAMMING A "HIT"

*"There was truth and there was untruth, and if you cling to the truth, even against the whole world — you were not mad."*

Donald Freed, the author of *The Killing of RFK*, has done more than merely cling to the "truth" of his obviously extensive research, but has created a taut, suspenseful and shocking book that explodes the myth that "one lone nut" was responsible for the assassination of Robert Kennedy.

Make no doubt, Freed is a master craftsman, as a researcher as well as a writer, and the co-author of *Executive Action* has followed up his brilliant work on the JFK assassination with another revealing expose of a tight-knit conspiracy of "special operatives" — the anonymous, powerful "them" — planning and carrying out their latest "hit" — this time directed against the younger, charismatic Robert Kennedy at the height of his 1968 bid for the American Presidency.

## MURDER

Immediately following Kennedy's murder in Los Angeles, several disturbing questions were raised concerning Sirhan Sirhan as the sole assassin, only to be glossed over and later dismissed:

- Los Angeles County Coroner Dr. Thomas P. Noguchi, for example, testified before the grand jury that the bullet that killed then New York Senator Kennedy was fired from no more than "two or three inches behind the right ear." Yet, all witnesses placed Sirhan several feet in front of Kennedy during the shooting.

- On July 1, 1968, William Harper, chief criminalist for the Pasadena, California, Police Department, stated:

"Based on my background and training, upon my experience as a consulting criminalist and my studies, examination and analysis of the data related to the Robert F. Kennedy assassination, I have arrived at the following findings and opinions... (1) Two .22-caliber guns were involved in the assassination. (2) Senator Kennedy was killed by one of the shots fired... by a second gunman. (3) It is extremely unlikely that any of the bullets fired by your (Sirhan's) gun ever struck the body of Senator Kennedy."

Freed begins his narrative with a moving account of Kennedy's

funeral in New York City, and the funeral train ride down "the great industrial corridor" to Washington, D.C., where the senator was buried. In doing so, he brilliantly captures the mood of a great many Americans who stood along the tracks that day or watched the drama on T.V., people who, in the aftermath of the slayings of JFK, Malcolm X, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and now RFK, saw the politics of their time dictated out of the darkness of a gun barrel:

"As they sang ('The Battle Hymn of the Republic') on the public highway or watched in secret, they wept for themselves as much as for all those who had been cut down by the decade of death. For they feared for themselves and the children they clutched to their legs, feared that they—whoever they were who had conspired to slay their leaders were now conspiring to slay them as well."

Throughout this "novel of fact" — based upon the experiences of real people, although the names have been changed —



Donald Freed's new book *The Killing of RFK* depicts how SIRHAN SIRHAN was set up as the so-called "lone nut" assassin of ROBERT KENNEDY (right, as he laid dying on June 6, 1968). Sirhan, contends Freed, was the victim of a behavior modification scheme.



Freed weaves a scenario that alternates its focus from the clandestine activities of the conspirators to the raucous Kennedy campaign as its builds momentum towards its terrible fate.

The original scheme of the assassins was to set up Kennedy for what will appear to be a "Muslim hit," — an initial "cover" — that will fall for a second "cover," with the "blame" intended to be dropped

into the lap of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM).

This fails when Dr. King is slain and the Black assassin slated to "take out" RFK intentionally "blows his cover."

The second plot, involves the "programming" — the updated term for "brainwashing" or "behavior modification" — of a young, insecure Palestinian (Sirhan) carefully chosen as one who is susceptible to these techniques.

In explaining these programming techniques, Freed exposes the dangers of various "Centers for the Study of Violence" which have sprung up around the country recently, institutions where, "in the interest of science," behavioral psychiatrists go about creating human robots. As one of the conspirators bluntly tells the assassin's chief program agent: "Your clean, pure, scientific games are the perfume the Department of Defense sprinkles over the stench of the real world where the battle against evil takes place. Where do you think your funds have been coming from since the outbreak of world terrorism? You and your 'Uncle Victor' are just two more soldiers equipped with different kinds of guns, employed by the Pentagon...."

Freed feels quite strongly on the issue of exposing these programming techniques. When asked by THE BLACK PANTHER what motivated him to write *The Killing of RFK*, Freed responded:

"One was the general motive of the right to know, the need to  
CONTINUED ON PAGE 25

## In Memoriam

### ERROLL GARNER

**Born: June 15, 1923**

**Died: January 2, 1977**



*Erroll Garner, the great jazz pianist, succumbed last week to a heart attack at the age of 53. The composer of the classic "Misty," Garner taught himself to play the piano at the age of seven and by the time he was eleven he was performing with a riverboat band led by the legendary Fate Marable, whose bands included such greats as the late Louis Armstrong.*

*Shunned by the musicians' union of his hometown, Pittsburgh, because he could not "read" music, Garner vowed, "I'll play here some day and I'll sound like a whole band and I won't play with none of you." Garner went on to fulfill his promise as he gained international acclaim with musical prowess that astounded even many sophisticated classical music critics, winning him such accolades as "genius" and "brilliant", (and honorary membership in the Pittsburgh union in 1956).*

*Reviewing his own life experiences within the jazz world, Garner once said, "I used to be the act that took clubs out of the hole. They paid the other acts big money, but not me. Now it's my turn. I just had to get away from that bogus bottle of gin."*



# Struggle To Liberate Sahara Republic

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 18

Moroccan expansionism have not been able to prevent the problem of the Sahara from becoming and remaining one of the principal subjects of international discussions.

Q: Isn't time working against you? You have only a few thousand soldiers.

LAROUSSI: We have no fear, either for the near or distant future. In the beginning, we lacked experience and military equipment. We now have arms in abundance, whereas the invad-



POLISARIO militants lead demonstration in Spanish Sahara against the partitioning of their territory by neighboring Morocco and Mauritania.

ing army has entrenched itself in a few defensive positions. As for our effective forces, we have called up only a third of our trained troops.

Q: Nearly a thousand children died this spring in the refugee camps in Algeria. Aren't you afraid that the difficult conditions under which the common people of the Sahara are living might lead to a sort of collective suicide?

LAROUSSI: Our people are suffering under the consequences of foreign domination. For them, as our entire history proves, dignity and liberty come before comfort, security, and material advantages. The Saharans will never cease fighting until their territory is reconquered. Everyone knows that liberty is the most costly of benefits.

## FORCE OF ARMS

Q: Do you plan to achieve this by force of arms, or are you speculating on a change of regimes in Morocco or Mauritania?

LAROUSSI: The regimes of Rabat (capital city of Morocco) and Nouakchott (capital city of Mauritania), by dint of propaganda and deceitful secrecy, have obtained the provisional support of their population. How long will it last? Every day brings us new victories: every day we kill Moroccan and Mauritanian soldiers; every day we take prisoners. The result has been eight hundred killed during the month of May.

The other day, we took twenty-three soldiers prisoner in the vicinity of Inai, right in the middle of southern Morocco. You were able to interrogate them yourself. This is no fabrication; it is only that Rabat and Nouakchott never

speak of it. All the same, it will become known in the end. The people of Morocco and Mauritania will then start to think. This means that we are counting first and foremost upon ourselves.

Q: At the beginning of the year, it appeared that you treated Mauritania with respect, and vice versa. Why have you now renewed your attacks on this country?

LAROUSSI: At one time, it is true, we concentrated our military efforts on the evasion forces of Hassan II or Morocco. We hoped to convince Ould Daddah (leader of Mauritania) that the Western

Sahara was for Hassan II nothing but a corridor to Mauritania, and that our people were a good bulwark of defense for the Mauritanian people.

## PATIENCE

Our efforts were in vain, in spite of all our patience. Day by day, Mauritania is falling progressively under the power of Hassan II. The king's forces are to be found everywhere in Mauritania. This country is now nothing but a province of Morocco, and Ould Daddah is nothing but Hassan's governor, a governor continuously under orders from Rabat.

# Eritrean Benefit For Medical Supplies

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 18

Ethiopian military base in northern Eritrea is located in Nacfa, and the EPLF has been conducting a major offensive against Nacfa since September 17 of last year, scoring victory after victory against the occupying Ethiopian forces.

On September 17, 1976, an EPLF battalion bombarded the Ethiopian military base with heavy gunfire. "Fighting with daring and heroism," *Eritrea In Struggle* states, the EPLF "wiped out" 152 enemy troops, wounded over 100 and shot down three planes in the first three days of fighting alone.

The forceful attacks of the Eritrean liberation fighters inflicted such heavy damages on Ethiopian forces that they called for 700 paratroopers and units of the Israeli-trained "Nebelbal" (Flame) Brigade. The reinforcements landed near Naro, a town 10 miles from Nacfa, where they

were immediately fired upon by EPLF forces. The EPLF subsequently "annihilated" the Ethiopian reinforcements, killing 588 and capturing 112. Five enemy planes were shot down.

To date, the EPLF has destroyed three of the four enemy bases inside Nacfa, has downed 11 Ethiopian planes, captured over 150 troops and confiscated a large supply of ammunition.

In other developments during the same period, EPLF fighters attacked enemy troops at their 35th Brigade base in Asmara, Eritrea's capital city. The main hospital of the Ethiopian junta is located on the Asmara base, and the EPLF inflicted heavy damages on the base and seized large quantities of medicine.

Tickets for the January 19 benefit are available at several locations in Berkeley, Oakland and San Francisco. For further information, call (415) 849-0216 or 835-2622. □

## INSIDE LATIN AMERICA



### Jamaica

The Jamaican government recently gave the Organization of African Unity (OAU) \$25,000 as a contribution to the African liberation movements. Speaking at a ceremony here, Jamaican Charge D'Affaires Neville Symmes expressed "the deep solidarity and sympathy of the government and people of Jamaica with those millions of African persons who are now bravely engaged in struggle in pursuit of their freedom. Jamaica is unequivocally opposed, . . . to the denial of human rights and dignity of the African brotherly peoples in southern Africa. . . ." *Hsinhua* news service reports.

### Sugar-Exporting Countries

The 22-nation group of Latin American and Caribbean Sugar Exporting Countries (GLACSEC) met recently in London to coordinate their plans for the conclusion of a new international sugar agreement in the interest of the sugar producing countries of Latin America, a region which accounts for 25 per cent of the world's sugar output. The GLACSEC also accepted the Philippines, a sugar producer, as an observer taking part in the organization's activities. These 23 countries now account for 65 per cent of the world's total sugar exports, constituting a formidable Third World force opposed to the control of the world sugar markets by the international monopoly of Western industrialized countries.

### Jamaica

Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley called the handing over of the Jose Martí School, a high school built by Cuban workers and technicians, — which was completed two months ahead of schedule — a "symbol of friendship" between Jamaica and Cuba, at a recent ceremony here. Speaking before an audience of more than 11,000, Manley declared that the co-operation that exists between Cuba and Jamaica is an example of the spirit that prevails in the Third World, free from all the shackles customarily imposed by the metropolises in their dealings with states which they consider to be appendages of them.



## SPORTS



At Sunday's Super Bowl (left to right): WILLIE BROWN dashes 75 yards for a touchdown after an interception; OTIS SISTRUNK gives "Number One" sign; and FRED BILETNIKOFF makes one of his crucial catches. Raiders' quarterback KEN STABLER engineered the crushing Viking defeat.

### "PRIDE AND POISE" REIGNS OVER PRO FOOTBALL

## OAKLAND RAIDERS SMASH VIKINGS IN BEST SUPER BOWL PERFORMANCE EVER

(Oakland, Calif.) - The powerful, exciting Oakland Raiders finally achieved their "impossible dream" last Sunday, demolishing the "Purple Gang" of the Minnesota Vikings, 32-14, in Super Bowl XI.

The magnificent, record-breaking show put on by the Raiders climaxed a 21-2 season (5-1 in the pre-season, 13-1 in the regular season and 3-0 in the playoffs) and left no doubt that the "Pride and Poise" of Oakland is the best team in professional football.

The clockwork Raider offense, powered by the devastating line work of its All-Pro front four — John Vella, George Buehle, Gene Upshaw and Art Shell — stormed through the Viking "Purple People Eaters" defense for a Super Bowl record 429 yards total offense, including a record-setting 266 yards on the ground. On the other side of the line, the Raiders made numerous big plays on defense, including two dramatic interceptions (one of which was run back 75 yards for a touchdown by 14-year defensive back Willie Brown, another Super Bowl record), and a fumble recovery on their own two-yard line. The Raiders totally frustrated the Viking's great all-purpose half-back, Chuck Foreman, containing this "man of many moves."

Although the Raiders' standout wide receiver, Fred Biletnikoff, won the game's Most Valuable Player award for running the Minnesota defense around in circles with his circus catches, many Raiders were worthy of the honor. Among them was running back Clarence Davis who ran 16 times for 137 yards, a phenomenal 8.6 yard average per try; quarterback Ken Stabler, as the cool and confident "Snake," went 12 for 19, with no interceptions; and offensive lineman Art

Shell, who punched huge holes in the Viking defense throughout the afternoon as well as providing perfect protection for Stabler.

An example of the Raiders' ferocity occurred early in the game after a Ray Guy punt was blocked by Viking linebacker Fred McNeill. On second and goal from the two, the feared Oakland safety, Jack Tatum, and linebacker Phil Villapiano forced a fumble with a brutal hit on the Viking running back which was recovered by the Raiders' Willie Hall (who also intercepted a key Tarkington pass during a third quarter drive.)

From the two, the Raiders marched 90 yards to the Viking eight-yard line, scoring on a 24-yard field goal. By halftime the Raiders were leading 16-0 and the game was really over.

Although they are perennial football powers, this was the year that the Raiders were not ex-

pected to win at all. In the pre-season their defense was decimated with injuries as three out of four defensive line starters were lost for the year. However, after being blasted 48-17 by the New England Patriots in their fourth game, the Raiders won 13 straight, including wins over such powers as the Cincinnati

Bengals, the Patriots and the once-invincible Pittsburgh Steelers.

Over the past decade the Raiders have compiled an astounding 108-25-7 record, the best in professional football, but they were always accused of not being able to win the "big ones," being victimized by misfortune and freak plays. They went to the second Super Bowl in 1967, but

*Oakland youth symbolizes the city's pride in their world champion Raiders. Oakland-based professional sports teams have won five world titles since 1972.*

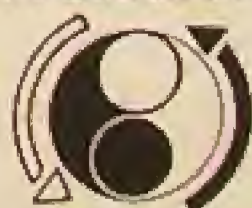


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they were awed by the then mighty Green Bay Packers 33-14. This year's Super Bowl victory was very special for four Raiders — Fred Biletnikoff, Willie Brown, Pete Banaszak and Gene Upshaw — who suffered through that loss and seemingly countless near-misses on their way back to the biggest game in football.

When they came back this time in "Big Game" XI they performed as no Super Bowl team ever has, displaying total domination over the Vikings. The city of Oakland has been the recipient of three straight World Series championships, thanks to the Oakland A's, and an NBA championship from the Golden State Warriors. Now a Super Bowl victory can be put on the trophy shelf.

THE BLACK PANTHER extends its admiration and congratulations to all of the proud players on the Oakland Raiders, finally Number One in pro football.



## "Justice Don't Exist- Only Injustice"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 8

let him walk that tier, unless he strips.

I got twenty days in solitary. They said I had a weapon — a spoon — but they said it was a weapon. But what made them give me ten more days was when I got my lawyer to represent me in their so-called courts. They gave me ten more days, saying I violated rule 119, destruction of state property and contraband. You can't stand isolation over a month.

So after I did twenty days and ten more days, I came out for 24 hours. They say they give you the right to continue corresponding with your lawyer, but they didn't give me this right. So when they saw me bringing paper and a pencil up there, they tried to take the pencil from me. I refused to give it to them and I broke it up. So they wrote me up for that.

They didn't let me out till the eleventh of July. I was supposed to be moved, but they were dragging their tails because of the demonstration that was supposed to be held in New Orleans (July 24). They kept me at Angola until the twenty-eighth of July.

Q: What do you think is the basis of oppression of Black people in this country, and what do you see as the solution?

TYLER: A black nation held inside of a nation, that's how it is. The Blacks outnumber the Whites in the South but we're not running it. They put a few Blacks in office who they think should be up there. The way I see it, what they give me, if they give me my freedom, I won't thank them — they owe me that, they took that from me. So what they give a Black man, he doesn't have any business thanking them. They owe him that.

### MONEY

They spend so much money building parish jails, prisons, penitentiaries, but they don't give the poor people anything.

Where are 40 acres and a mule? We've been promised a lot. We'll be the first ones they'll ask to vote; we'll be the last ones they ever help. Black people in the South need unity; we need to unite. We need understanding. We're working on that now.

We need powerful speakers, not tools, not puppets, not something that the rich class controls. We need something that we put out there. We've been taught in school that we are a minority within the South, the United States. Well, Blacks may be a minority within the United States, but we are a majority in the whole world. And we're the



Over 750 people marched through Detroit to demand the freedom of Gary Tyler.

majority within these United States if we all combine together.

We need to demolish all those plantations; we need to blow them off the map. Who wants to be reminded that they had slavery way back? We're not slaves altogether; we're just the people they're living off of now. They get so much off us and we get so little from them. We ain't getting nothing, and we are poor, we don't have nothing and we need a revolution to change this.

If the revolution needs demonstrations, then let's do that. If the revolution needs arming the people, let's do that, too.

The revolution, I support it. I plan to educate myself to make myself more aware of what's happening. China's revolution, well, it's going to take something like that here. We got to get rid of the tools — one day there will be no more jails, no more penitentiaries, no more courts and police that frame Black youth.

## Combatting Police State Tendencies

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

officer, an FBI agent in the Denver office.

Both President-elect Carter and Vice President-elect Mondale, who was a member of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, have voiced their concern over intelligence abuses. On the other hand, once Presidents move into the White House, they tend to view the CIA, the FBI, the eavesdropping NSA, and the other intelligence and police agencies as extensions of their power.

Yet if Mr. Carter and the 95th Congress want to do so, they can take specific steps to begin the process of controlling intelligence. The National Security Act of 1947 should be amended or replaced to prohibit the CIA from engaging in covert operations abroad in peacetime. There is no specific authority in the law for such operations. Americans are unhappy if the Korean Central Intelligence Agency, which is closely modeled on its namesake in Langley, Virginia, pays off members of Congress in this country; that is precisely the sort of activity in which our own CIA has engaged around the

globe.

A democracy rests on the consent of the governed, and the governed are not permitted to give their consent to covert political operations because of their very nature. In time, covert operations will change the character of the institutions they seek to preserve.

The CIA's shadowy network of domestic divisions should be shut down and the Agency confined by law solely to the collection of intelligence overseas — which is what Congress intended when it created the CIA. As matters stand now, a future President could unleash the CIA at home, as did Lyndon

B. Johnson and Richard M. Nixon.

The FBI Director, Clarence Kelley, has announced he isn't leaving unless asked. Mr. Carter should ask. Mr. Kelley surrounded himself with J. Edgar Hoover's cronies, which is hardly the way to reform the FBI. Moreover, Mr. Kelley has publicly defended the FBI's infamous COINTELPRO operations, its program of harassment against Americans. That alone qualifies him for early retirement.

The FBI's broad intelligence-gathering function, which allowed it to penetrate large segments of American society with no clear legal basis to do so,

must be prohibited by statute. A new law should limit the FBI to investigation of crimes, including conspiracy; in conspiracy cases, investigations should take place only on a showing of probable cause that a crime is being planned. Congress can and should draw careful standards so that potential terrorist acts do not become an umbrella for indiscriminate infiltration of society as a whole.

All government wiretapping, bugging and searches should require a court warrant that meets the standards of the Fourth Amendment. There should be no exception for "national security" or foreign-intelligence cases. The House should establish an intelligence watchdog committee as a counterpart of the new Senate intelligence committee.

These are the minimum changes to be made. New laws may help, but it should also be remembered that existing laws have been repeatedly broken. Nor will laws protect us against a President who misuses his power. Ultimately, the outcome will depend more on whether as a people we believe in freedom, or fear it.



Cartoon symbolizing the decadence of former FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover.



## Execution Filming

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

electric chair. About 60 per cent of all inmates on death row in the U.S. are Black or belong to some other minority group. If judges in other states follow in the path of Taylor, the racist, bloodthirsty attitudes of many Whites who favor the death penalty would be further vindicated.

TV news directors throughout Texas voiced their disapproval of Taylor's ruling.

In Huntsville, White inmate Jerry Jurek, who is scheduled to die in the electric chair on January 14, said he favors TV filming of executions because the public "would understand what the death penalty really means." □

## "The Killing Of R.F.K."

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 21

know, and to understand who our enemy is. That's the general motive. The more particular motive is to try to make behavior modification as familiar to Americans as wiretapping. Wiretapping, an invasion of political privacy, was once mysterious to people too; now it's understood by everyone. Behavior modification is an invasion of the nervous system, not just a political system but a human nervous system. We need to see how behavior modification is being used as a weapon, particularly against poor people."

In the hands of his virtual captors, Sirhan is programmed to be "Saladin," a fiery Palestinian revolutionary; programmed that "RFK must die...RFK must die...RFK must die..."

That was all the conspirators needed, "one lone nut" to be the patsy, the front man, and although, in fact, Sirhan fired eight shots at Kennedy, none hit their mark. Another conspirator, one of those who led the Kennedy entourage, minus bodyguards, into the kitchen pantry of Los Angeles' Embassy Hotel, fired the fatal bullet into RFK's brain, while Sirhan, empowered with hypnotic strength, fought off 10 men who tried to stop him.

The "hit," and the cover-up, were all-too-successful, as history, the proof of the pudding, has shown us. Sirhan, like Oswald and James Earl Ray, took the "rap" while the "secret government" — The POWER — took America.

And until Don Freed's fine book, the American people were spoon fed the "untruth." □

## Letters to the Editor

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

"SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST"

Subject Matter: The Survival of the fittest under racist color of state law; with the assistance of the people, etc.

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

This communication is written by the Survival Committee for Human Rights of the Black Panther Party in Pontiac Concentration Camp; and though we are few in number, we are nonetheless on the scene to do what must be done, et. al.

This communication is written to inform our class cast confined brothers and sisters all across this decadent land of the super-rich, super police, and super exploitation of the poor, non-Whites of this politically repressive country that we as an oppressed class should be on our guard against; the authoritarian terrorism of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, who are now on a national recruiting drive in all states and federal penal institutions throughout this country, e.g., this application blank (enclosed in the letter) is now being circulated to all White prison employees in this racist concentration camp.

We wish that it was possible to inform the warden (Thaddus E. Pinkney) who just happens to be Black in color only, of these current happenings. But due to his total and complete brainwash, he must be seen as part of his own problems, etc.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
Your Brothers in struggle,  
Political Prisoner in prose.  
Pontiac, Mich.

### INMATES FALL VICTIM TO MARYLAND PRISON "GOON SQUAD"

To Whom It May Concern:

Now, before I begin this letter, I want it to be known that the conditions at the Maryland Penitentiary have reached the dehumanizing stages. The inmates can no longer stagnate themselves by being mute and passively accept the physical and mental beatings that these warp-minded police are subjecting a man to. As a result of speaking out and letting our feelings be known, we're being beaten and stabbed by the officers. We're also being framed to cover the wrongdoings of the officers that are committing crimes against the inmates as if they were legalized to do so. I'm only one among numerous inmates that have recently fallen victim to the so-called "Boom Squad" on the segregation unit.

On December 11, 1976, sometime between 8:00 and 9:00 a.m., three inmates, Roy Brown, Ralph Harrison and myself, were let out of our cells for showers. A fight erupted. Brown and myself were handcuffed separately. Harris was beaten and stabbed by officer J.D. Moore, along with other officers who were armed with black riot clubs. Sgt. Smith held me, and after J.D. Moore said that I was involved, Sgt. Smith cut me under the right eye and held me by the cuffs while J.D. Moore and the rest beat and stabbed me. Brown was taken from the shower. The officers continued to beat Harrison and me until there was no longer any pain in their blows to me. We were both put back in the shower to rinse the blood off our heads and bodies and then taken to the institutional hospital until a van was prepared to transport us to University Hospital for treatment. I was treated for multiple stab wounds of the face, head and hands. My jaw and legs were checked for possible broken bones, and some teeth were missing. I was given some type of shot.

Harrison was operated on for multiple stab wounds over his entire body. When I saw him, he looked to be in pretty bad shape. I was returned to the institution and placed back in my cell in segregation.

As of this writing, the condition of Ralph Harrison is unknown, as he is still at the University Hospital in the recovery unit.

The story that the administration is conveying to the public through the news media is false. The administration is only seeking to cover up the incident and to protect the officers that were involved to evade possible court action.

Another inmate, Robert Walker, was attacked by these police on the same date in an incident stemming out of the same incident. We were only three of the many victims of the police on that day. A lot of inmates were beaten and stabbed that day.

I haven't gone into everything in great detail because I have a sore hand that prevents me from writing a whole lot. I only wanted to reveal the truth by manifesting a few thoughts on the incident which I was a victim of. This incident served to change my whole frame of mind. I know who my enemy is now, without a doubt.

Ronald Adams #107940  
Maryland Penitentiary

## U.S. Continues Arms Aid

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

military training program last year to help the government develop an air and sea rescue force. "Elimination of the modest United States security assistance program... would lessen our ability to influence the Haitian government on a range of United States interests in Haiti..." the report states.

•Philippines — President Ferdinand E. Marcos enacted martial law in the islands in 1972 and since then, the State Department notes, "There have been reports of torture as well as of cruel, inhuman and degrading punishment in the cases of some political detainees." Many prisoners, estimated to be as many as 6,000, have been detained for as long as four years without being charged or tried.

•Indonesia — Following an unsuccessful attempted overthrow of the government in 1965, 500,000 Indonesians were imprisoned, but most have now been released, the State Department report says. The Department is skeptical about the Amnesty International (an organization that publicizes human rights violations against political prisoners) study which reveals that over 55,000 political prisoners arrested in 1965 remain in detention.

### MILITARY AID

American military aid to Indonesia — which totals \$13 million in grants and \$23 million in credits — the report explains, is based "primarily on a recognition of the strategic importance of Indonesia in Southeast Asia."

•Peru — A state of emergency has been in effect in Peru since July, 1976, and in the months since then the number of arrests and detentions has increased, the State Department report elaborates, adding that "... there have been unsubstantiated reports of missing persons." While the Peruvian government maintains it does not condone torture, the report states that "law enforcement techniques and prison conditions have given rise to occasional reports of police brutality."

A recent statement by Secretary of State-designate Cyrus Vance indicates the position the Carter administration can be expected to take regarding governments that violate human rights. Vance said that the U.S. must pursue a pragmatic approach to human rights violations that takes into account American security interests. □



## U.S. Banks Prop Up Apartheid In South Africa

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

expansion plans include the construction of three coal fired electrical generators. Since South Africa has an abundance of coal, this will cut down on its need to import oil, a major saving in foreign exchange.

Another loan has gone to the Iron and Steel Corporation (ISCOR), and several to companies involved in mineral extraction, notably to Richards Bay Minerals and to the Phosphate Development Corporation (Foscor). These are aimed at increasing South African exports, and thereby improving its balance of payments.

One particularly interesting loan has gone to South African Airways for the purchase of Boeing airplanes from the U.S. These planes are an example of the "dual purpose" items which South Africa is eager to purchase — which could be used for military as well as civilian purposes.

Chase Manhattan has made a significant loan to the Industrial Development Corporation. While hardly the largest, it is important because this loan was guaranteed by the U.S. Export-Import (Ex-Im) Bank. Since the Industrial Development Corporation is a government corporation, the U.S. government is in effect guaranteeing a loan to the South African government.

In the past, Ex-Im has generally denied loans. But indications are the Export-Import financing and guarantees may well become increasingly important in loans to South Africa.

Perhaps the strongest indication of U.S. willingness to grant Ex-Im support comes from President-elect Carter himself. In the November 5 *Financial Mail*, a major South African business magazine, he was asked if he would "free up American investment through the Export-Import Bank loans and otherwise encourage an increase in private American lending and corporate



*Inhuman living conditions of South African "township."*

activity in South Africa?"

Carter's answer was an unequivocal "Yes, indeed," and he quickly went on to tie the increased investment to U.S. efforts to bring "peace" to southern Africa.

Both the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, the liberation movements of South Africa, have called for the withdrawal of foreign investment. And, a policy statement issued by the South African Students Organization (SASO), said it "sees foreign investments as giving stability to South Africa's exploitative regime and committing South Africa's trading partners to supporting this regime. For this reason, SASO rejects foreign investments."

Nine SASO members recently convicted in South Africa are charged with advocating the economic withdrawal of foreign investment, among other things. (See article, page 17.)

A typical defense of loans and investments to South Africa was given by the executive vice president of Citibank, George J. Vojta, before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in September.

He reasons that apartheid now restricts the functioning of capitalist economy since it restricts

the purchasing power of Blacks. Therefore, as Vojta put it, "By contributing to the creation of a pluralistic marketplace, we think we assist in the development of a more pluralistic system."

This is an old argument — that investment and the pressure of the marketplace will create social change. Change will come, the argument goes, because it will benefit the White capitalists who will force the government's hand.

This rationale runs contrary to the historical facts. The South African economy has always been a joint venture of foreign capital and White settlers who both profit handsomely at the expense of Blacks. It is foreign capital, mainly English, which developed the mines, still the backbone of the South African economy.

It is unlikely that the South African government would so actively seek loans and foreign investment if it thought that in the end it would remove itself from political power.

Furthermore, South Africa is an important foreign market for the U.S. Of the total U.S. exports to Africa in 1975, 31 per cent went to South Africa. And the country's share of direct U.S. investment in sub-Saharan Africa has increased from 38 per cent in 1972 to 47 per cent in 1973 and 56 per cent in 1974. □

## Soweto School Boycott

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

gun for every fourth person, the *New York Times* reports.

The widespread gun ownership has caused a sharp increase in the country's homicide rate. During fiscal year 1976, 17,550 South Africans — most of them Black — were officially listed as victims of murder or culpable (blameable) homicide.

Although the exact figure is not known, since last June it is believed that South African police have shot and killed well over 1,000 Black people. During the Christmas season, a White policeman, who claimed that he had seen a Black pickpocket, indiscriminately opened fire in an effort to apprehend the man, but instead killed a 56-year-old White woman. The husband of the dead woman said that he found it "frightening" that a policeman should consider opening fire in a



*Azanian woman grimaces after being shot in stomach during recent student uprisings.*

crowded street.

But guns are not solely used as protection against Blacks. A White taxi driver, who ran a red light and narrowly missed hitting a Canadian's car, pulled a gun on the Canadian and threatened to kill him before bashing the man in the head with the weapon. It took 14 stitches to close the wound.

White opposition to giving any political power to the Black majority population remains steadfast. In the words of a wealthy White land developer, "This country is a paradise because we worked to make it so. My grandfather came here when there was nothing, with nothing. Now everything he worked for is threatened. Why should we hand over what is ours...?" □

## "Flag Of Convenience" Ships Creating High Seas Havoc

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

the profit to be gained by exploitation of both workers and crew.

To build a "supertanker" — the "latest" in maritime behemoths, carrying over 200,000 tons of oil, enough to supply a city of 40,000 with enough fuel for a year — would cost \$90 million in the U.S., \$42 million in Japan; and even less in Liberia and Panama.

The annual payroll of a 232-man American crew would be

\$1,750,000; for a Liberian tanker, that figure drops to \$600,000, less than half the cost to employ a crew in the U.S. maritime union.

Plus, according to the Federation of American Controlled Shipping, which represents 21 U.S. firms (including the major oil firms) flying Liberian or Panamanian "flags of convenience," insurance costs in the U.S. are double.

According to recent statistics from the Organization for Eco-

nomic Cooperation and Development, ships flying flags of convenience were lost at nearly four times the rate of those from OECD nations during the ten years prior to 1973.

An investigation in Hong Kong last spring discovered that while only 25 per cent of the ocean-going traffic in the Hong Kong area in 1975 flew flags of convenience, they accounted for 75 per cent of all ships that sank or seriously faltered. □



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